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# IOHANNIS WYCLIF

## TRACTATUS DE APOSTASIA.

NOW FIRST EDITED FROM THE VIENNA MSS.

1343 AND 3935.

BY

MICHAEL HENRY DZIEWICKI.

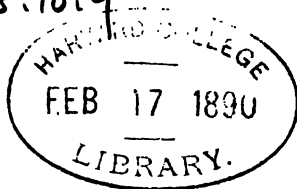
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*Sumner's original.*

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## INTRODUCTION.

*De Apostasia*, which is now printed for the first time, has been hitherto known to the public only by Shirley's valuable catalogue of Wyclif's works. His notice, however, is not without a few errors, which ought to be corrected first of all, before I make any further remarks concerning the editing of the work, and the work itself.

It runs thus: "*De Apostasia*. In two chapters. *Incipit*: Restat ulterius ponere aliud principium. *Desinit*: fratrum commodum quoad deum. — MSS. *Vienna*: CCXCII, ff. 37—124; CCCX, ff. 49—128. *Univ. Prague*: III F. 11, ff. 70—134; III G. 11, ff. 208—220. *Trin. Coll. Dub.*: C. 1, 24, pp. 293—310. — The Prague MSS. seem both to be imperfect. — *Auth.* Author's name on the Vienna MSS.; Walden, *De Sacramentis*, passim; Bale, title only."

On p. 63, he quotes the Vienna catalogue: "Undecima, de Apostasia, 18 capp. *Restat* . . . in fine, *hoc venerabili sacramento*".

The corrections are as follows: There are 17 chapters, not 2 nor 18; the second chapter ends with *fratrum commodum* &c.; the seventeenth, as in the Vienna catalogue. The Vienna MSS. are respectively CCXCII (or cod. 1343) and CCCX (or cod. 3935). There are three MSS. at Prague University, the one omitted here being C. 73: only one of the three (III G. 11) is imperfect, ending at about the middle of the second chapter. — C. 1, 24, Tr. Coll. Dub. is imperfect, breaking off at the end of the second chapter. The author's name is only in *cod.* CCXCII; in CCCX, C. 73 and III F. 11. there are his initials.

For the sake of uniformity with the other works published by the Wyclif Society, I have lettered these MSS. in the various readings. Thus, cod. 1343 (or CCXCII) will in future be A; this was the MS. copied for the text of the work. Cod. 3935 (or CCCX) is B; C. 73 is C; III F. 11 is D; III G. 11 is E; and Tr. Coll. Dub. C. 1, 24 is F.

## I.

I may now briefly describe the six MSS., from indications kindly supplied by Dr. Herzberg-Fränckel, of the Imperial Library, Vienna, who transcribed the work, and by the various collators. And here I wish to acknowledge the great pains taken both by the transcriber and the collators, which has considerably lightened my task; though I did not think it worth while to preserve all the various readings. Some presented only a philological or palaeographic interest; most of these have been set aside. They become much rarer after the end of the second chapter, when both E and F are wanting; it is unfortunate, as these two seem to have been copied from sources independent of the rest, and often give us the right sense when the others are at fault. Many a doubtful sentence would probably have been explained, had these been complete. The readings of C and D are comparatively the least useful; B serves on many occasions to supplement the text of A.

A belongs to the same collection as the MS. of Poole's *De Dominio Civili*, and his general description of that MS. may be applied to this. The title of the work, in red ink, on f. 37, runs thus: *Incipit tractatus de apostasia, liber XI* (meaning that it is the eleventh book of Wyclif's *Summa Theologica*). At the end, on f. 124, there are the words: *Explicit tractatus de apostasia magistri Johannis Wiclef doctoris ewangelici*. This is written in the same hand as the text. Lower down, there is: *Respice finem*, 1517, in a later hand, followed by some cyphered writing, perhaps the owner's name, or some indications relative to the scribe himself. The handwriting and other external peculiarities of the MS. are identical with those of the Nimburg collection, near Kolin, in Bohemia.

B. Paper, each sextern enclosed in leaf of parchment; binding, leather and boards. At the beginning, inside the cover, stands an index of the works contained in the volume, in XV<sup>th</sup> century writing: a proof that the binding dates at least as far back. Beneath, there is written: *A fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos. De Blasfemia, cap<sup>o</sup> 15 substancialiter corporaliter ibi corpus Christi*. These words are the same as a marginal note on f. 201. One date in the volume (1453, Assumpcionis) points to the middle of the XV<sup>th</sup> century as the time

at which it was copied; this is also borne out by the handwriting. *De Apostasia*, *De Blasfemia*, and the side-notes, are all in the same good steady hand. Two columns to each page.

C. A paper folio volume, belonging to the Chapterhouse library, Prague (Domcapitelbibliothek) and containing *De Blasphemia*, *De Apostasia* (ff. 76c—151a), *De hostia consecrata ad Urbanum VI*, *De potestate Pape* (not entire) and *De Prophetia*. Written in two columns, in a good legible hand, of about the beginning of the XV<sup>th</sup> century. At the end of *De Blasphemia* are these words in Bohemian *vyress tyre buoh* (God comfort thee!) and after *De Prophetia*: *Neb gest toho dobrze hoden* (for he is well worthy thereof).

D. A paper MS.; small 4<sup>to</sup>; belongs to the University Library, Prague. Same contents as C; probably a copy from it, made a few years later. Handwriting much inferior, with many mistakes. Two columns on each page. *De Apostasia* begins f. 70b and ends f. 136b.

E. A paper MS., small 4<sup>to</sup>; also belonging to the Prague University Library. Contents: extracts from Wyclif, Huss, Origen, Chrysostom, &c. Three different hands: from beginning to f. 154b; from 154b to 286a and from 286a to 286b. Probable date of writing: 1425 to 1445. The fragment of *De Apostasia* that is here begins at f. 209b, and ends f. 221b. Dr. Buddensieg has described this MS. in his Introduction to *Wyclif's Polemical Works*.

F. Written in good legible hand, though much abridged; date, XV<sup>th</sup> century; on parchment, much stained in some parts. Binding, leather and boards. Contains *De Veritate Scripture*, *De Simonia*, *De Apostasia* (pp. 292—310), and *De Blasphemia*. Numerous corrections, carefully made; in a similar hand, if not in the same. A blank space is left for initial letters all through the MS.; there are therefore no illuminations. Frequent marginal notes. Verso of p. 305 and recto of p. 306, very much stained.

With the aid of these various readings, I have sought to make up a text easily intelligible to the reader. In general, I have departed from the reading given by A only when it is evidently wrong and one or more of the other MSS. seem to give a better; in a few instances I have risked a guess, and set all the readings aside as faulty; always, of course, giving notice of the fact by a foot-note. But before I proceed to say anything of the work itself, I must



gratefully acknowledge the kind and assiduous help supplied to me by Mr. F. D. Matthew, whose great knowledge of all that concerns the *Doctor Evangelicus* has been invaluable, at the same time that his unwearied patience with an inexperienced editor was very encouraging. I do not know if it is possible to be more indebted to anyone than I have been to him; and the work finished, my most hearty thanks are due to him principally: not forgetting what I owe to Dr. Furnivall, the Founder of the Wyclif Society, and in general to all those who have contributed to the editing of this work.

## II.

*De Apostasia* is the eleventh of a series of theological works called by Wyclif *Summa Theologica*; but this series bears no resemblance either in scope or in plan to the great masterpiece of Aquinas. They are merely an exposition of such of his theological opinions as differed from the views generally held, set forth with a great deal of polemical vigour, and (in some cases at least) without any attempt at a regular plan. They are besides coloured to a very great extent by the writer's personal feelings at the time, so that, for instance, the tone of *De Apostasia* is moderation itself when compared with *De Blasphemia*, that seems to have followed it shortly after; and they usually contain some allusions to contemporary circumstances that enable us to fix the date of the work with more or less precision. Thus, in the case of the present work, Wyclif alludes to a certain *cruciatum langwidum infinitum*. A crusade, he says, was going on at the time, but in a very languishing manner. Now from these words we may gather, as exactly as possible, the date of a composition which must have cost many months' work, even to a man of Wyclif's facility and exuberance of thought; for in the year 1383, Bishop Spenser preached a crusade throughout England, to be undertaken in Flanders on behalf of Urban VI against the antipope Robert of Geneva. It lasted from May to October; it was hailed with much enthusiasm and began with 60,000 volunteers; but it soon met with difficulties. When the first bad news reached England, towards the beginning of August, Wyclif was writing his *De Fundacione Sectarum* (see W's Pol. Works, p. 7). The disaster was only known in October. Here we may note his extraordinary activity. As we see,

*De Apostasia*, and *De Fundacione Sectarum*, a tract of 80 pages, were both writing at the same time; simultaneously appeared his tract *De Cruciata* (44 pages). *De Dissensione Paparum* belongs to the same time, though perhaps it is a little earlier, according to Dr Buddensieg. *De septem donis Spiritus Sancti* (22 pp.) was written immediately after *De fundacione Sectarum*, between July and October, 1383; without mentioning several other short works, written either in the spring or in the autumn of the same year. Few men have worked so much as Wyclif; for this outpour was not limited to one year or to one period only; it embraces the whole of the man's career.

This work itself possesses peculiar interest, on account of the great length at which Wyclif discusses the doctrine of Transsubstantiation. It is by no means easy at first sight to perceive his exact position, especially when we see him adhering with great energy to the condemnation of Berengarius, and not only asserting the real presence of Christ in the Host, but even using the very word *transsubstantiation* (p. 58, l. 17, and elsewhere); while at the same time he asserts that the substance of bread remains, denies impanation, and says that Christ is present only in figure. But, though I cannot deny that Wyclif, like every man who ventures on so vast a task as framing a scheme of religion for himself, often is and must be inconsistent, yet I think that the careful study of *De Apostasia* will clear away most of the seeming contradictions to which I have just alluded, and show how what is contradictory to us, is not so to him.

To understand it completely, we ought to possess the light of his philosophical works, which have not yet been published. We all know that he was a Realist, and this fact bears an important part in the explanation of his system; but how far he ventured beyond the very moderate Realism of Aquinas, or the system, hardly less cautiously reserved, of his Franciscan rival, Scotus, remains yet to be ascertained. From this point of view, we might regret that the philosophical works of Wyclif were not published first; but it was evidently impracticable to delay the appearance of his best known works until the long series of his forgotten books on scholastic philosophy was exhausted.

In proceeding to give an analysis of *De Apostasia*, I ought to point out that the work cannot properly be said to have a plan, in



the sense of dealing with certain subjects in one part to the exclusion of others. It looks more like a series of scholastic debates upon Transsubstantiation, to which the first two chapters form the introduction by an attack upon the friars, who are responsible for this heresy, as Wyclif calls it. If it were not so, I should be quite at a loss to see how a man of even a weak memory could so often repeat the same arguments, refute the same objections, and use the same invectives, over and over again, in almost the very same words. These repetitions have decided me to undertake the analysis, after the first two chapters, in a very free manner. I intend adding all remarks that I think useful to point out Wyclif's exact position, so far as I understand it; at the same time, I shall only notice in each chapter those arguments that have not been dealt with before. For such readers as should wish for a more complete summary, there are abundant side notes.

Ch. I. Apostasy, according to Wyclif's theory, is but a general denomination for every grievous sin, in so far as it loosens the bond of religion between God the Father and man; similarly, blasphemy (sinning against the Son) and simony (against the Holy Ghost) are not specific sins, but mere aspects of every mortal sin. The book examines (1), Apostasy in itself (ch. 1, 2); and (2), Apostasy in its chief result (chs. 3—17). This divides the whole work into two very distinct parts; for Wyclif looks upon the theory of Transsubstantiation, as understood by the Friars, as the great effect of the apostasy which he contended was general throughout the Church; but he first of all deals with the Friars as the most notorious apostates. To do so, he takes two definitions, one for each of the first two chapters; the first defines apostasy by means of its contrary — religion; the second is the definition given by Holy Writ.

Religion may be defined either as the simple observance of Christ's law, or of certain rites and ceremonies superadded thereto. This second observance Wyclif calls *private religion*, and then examines certain questions relative to those called 'religions' in the second sense; some of these questions seem useless, but all, as we shall see, tend to establish his proposition: *A man may, without apostasy, leave any of these private religions*. Of this the converse appears in the second chapter: *A man may, without leaving any private*



*religion to which he belongs, incur apostasy.* Both these propositions seem intended to bring over to Wyclif's band of 'poor priests' some wavering Franciscans or Dominicans, who, struck and attracted by his austere doctrines, were yet held back for fear of apostasy. This hypothesis is strengthened, *first*, by the comparative moderation in tone to which Wyclif keeps all through the book, *second*, by several passages that we shall notice as we go on, and *third*, by the general tendency and evident *à propos* of the arguments.<sup>1</sup>

*Preliminary Question:* Whether the habit is essential to religion (pp. 3—9). I. Whether 'religious' life is better than ordinary Christianity (pp. 9—13); II. Whether it would not be better for those Orders not to exist (pp. 13—16), and III. Whether perpetual vows are expedient (p. 16—19).

*Preliminary Question.* The Decretal treats as apostates those who put off the habit; orders that are distinct, though professing the same rule, can be distinguished only by the habit; and to practise the contrary doctrine would produce confusion. But, on the other hand, religion is in the soul; apostasy cannot depend upon bodily clothing; if it could, any change in the habit would (an absurd consequence) produce a corresponding change in religion; and were the habit essential, even the Pope could not grant a dispensation. It is therefore not so, but only the external characteristic by which the Orders are known to differ. What distinguishes them is their obligations, e. g. to wear certain clothes. So far, Wyclif is quite orthodox; but his corollary, viz. that anyone may, without permission or dispensation, set aside the habit of his Order, is not. The Pope has no power granted him for evil; but it is manifestly evil to punish a man for having laid aside a mere sign. '*And yet, some are called apostates, who have done so, in order to live more piously in a more devout community.*' He goes on to complain loudly of their imprisonment as illegal, encroaching upon kingly rights, and contrary to the Christian law. From some passages in *De Blasphemia* it appears that Wyclif's propaganda amongst the monks was very active at this time; he avails

<sup>1</sup> This of course was not Wyclif's *only* intention in writing the first two chapters; but it seems probable that the idea was in his mind, and influenced him to some extent.

himself with much skill of every motive they could have to be discontented with their Superiors. On the other hand, it would appear from these lines that his activity was met by activity in the opposite direction, and that a Friar could not go over to Wyclif without considerable personal danger.

I. 'Religious' life is not better than ordinary Christianity; for the latter is more simple, more necessary, and more authorized. Monks strive to become Bishops, i. e. to be loosed from their vows and return to ordinary Christianity; if that were apostasy, they could not be allowed to do so. And the objection that monks keep the law of Christ and add thereto, is worthless; they add, as it were, a heap of rubbish round the walls of a perfect building.

II. Would it not be better if no Orders existed? That they were founded by Saints, proves nothing in their favour. Saints are not infallible, and may have sinned. These orders have indeed produced many Saints; but a bad father may have a good son. The Pope has confirmed them *for ever*; i. e. as long as God shall will their existence; besides, we must suppose that the Pope approved what was praiseworthy in them, not their defects. They ought to be suppressed on account of their members' inordinate love for their own sects, which causes dissensions in the Church, and is a sort of idolatry.

III. Perpetual vows are not expedient. Obedience is good, if rendered to God, not if to man; or if to man, only in so far as it coincides with what is due to God. *So that sometimes it is a virtue to rebel.* Obedience rendered to a proud and worldly Superior is without merit, even when he commands what is good for his subject. Here Wyclif, before in strict agreement with Aquinas and Catholic theology in general, approaches nearer to heterodoxy, and denies that the virtue of obedience sanctifies an order given by a Superior, if he is a fool or an ignorant man.

Ch. II. If we recollect that it was the custom in old times to speak much more plainly than we do now; if we compare the conditional tone of this chapter (*if* the Friars have done these things . . .) with the unmeasured invective employed in some other works, and if we note the exception that Wyclif explicitly makes in favour of his friends in the cloister, we shall see that in the severe indictment of



the Friars that follows, there is nothing calculated to destroy the effect which the previous chapter may have produced upon the waverers; on the contrary, the thesis that apostasy is often, nay, almost always incurred within the convent-walls, must have acted in a very different way. This idea is developed somewhat in the form of a sermon or homily, with remarks, explanations and amplifications of the Scripture text (Prov. VI, 12—14): 1<sup>st</sup> *Homo apostata, vir inutilis* (pp. 20—24); 2<sup>nd</sup> *graditur ore perverso* (pp. 24—28); 3<sup>rd</sup> *annuit oculis* (pp. 28—31); 4<sup>th</sup> *terit pede* (pp. 31—35); 5<sup>th</sup> *digito loquitur* (pp. 35—39); 6<sup>th</sup> *pravo corde machinatur malum* (pp. 39—43); 7<sup>th</sup> *et omni tempore jurgia seminat* (pp. 43—45).

1<sup>st</sup> *Homo apostata, vir inutilis*. Uselessness and sins of omission, are the first marks of backsliding. The great omission that Wyclif cannot forgive the Friars is, that they refused to join with him in the war against Church possessions. They were instituted only to renew the life of the Apostles, in strict poverty; to that mission they ought to be faithful. It is a work of spiritual mercy, far more important than deeds of charity done to the body; yet Christ condemns those who omit the latter. Worse traitors than Judas, they betray Christ glorified; Christ, who came but to bear witness to the truth. — The fact is, Wyclif is so positive that the Church should not hold property, that he cannot understand how a body of men, poor in theory, can refuse to think as he does without being false to their own principles. He pictures them bringing forward a few miserably weak excuses. "Time, place, circumstances, do not allow them to speak. "But", he replies, with a burst of eloquence, "NOW is the right time; the Prince of this world has spread his armies throughout the whole universe, and the King of kings has promised to assist His Church even unto the end of the world. And John the Baptist and so many martyrs have striven in this cause, knowing that Truth overcometh all things. Then let a Christian excuse himself how he will; before Him that shall try the heart and the reins at the Last Judgment, this negligence and idleness will find no excuse."

He deals in the same manner with all the other excuses, very poor ones indeed. "No more remains to be done, since there are now no enemies of the Church; bishops should not be attacked; if

the Friars exasperate those that have possessions, they will suffer for it." . . . *And therefore*, he concludes significantly (p. 24), *the religious and intelligent Friars break away from these apostates.*

2<sup>nd</sup> *Graditur ore perverso*. Sins of the tongue: lying, flattery, evil-speaking. *Lying* is dismissed with a few strong words; the proverb: 'A Friar has said thus and thus, so it is false', is quoted. The *flattery* here attacked is the flattery of the public, by sermons uttered to please, not to edify them. To relate fables and put human traditions in the place of God's word, is the very worst kind of flattery; thereby they become spirits of error, demons, or rather, as dead to the world, corpses wandering about, moved by a demon. They delight in repeating all *evil* they have heard; which is a still more grievous sin, if they are bound to silence.

3<sup>rd</sup> *Annuat oculis*. In a mystic sense, 'the eye' meaning the intention, to wink with the eye signifies to prefer private interest to the public good; for instance, when they entrap men, and especially boys, into their Order. This is at any rate a sin against prudence; for the persons thus influenced may have no call from God; and thus, though serving the order, they would harm the Church. Seeking our private welfare, sin can hardly be avoided; and *that is why civil ownership always savours of sin* (p. 30). Here incidentally we see a Socialistic conclusion that necessarily flows from Wyclif's principles; another appears still more clearly at the end of ch. 7.<sup>1</sup>

4<sup>th</sup> *Terit pede*. 'The foot' in Scripture signifies the affections, which are perverted amongst the Friars, who love temporal things; they beg clamorously, continually, shamelessly, for rich communities, in order to waste the money; and they refuse to share what they have with their poorer brethren, who have more right to ask alms of them than they of the people.

5<sup>th</sup> *Digito loquitur*. 'The finger' taken in its mystic sense, means the power of acting. Three points in which the Friars go to excess: 1<sup>st</sup> Indulgences and absolutions. He who is contrite gets indulgence from God by the very fact; indulgences can only be of use when contrition exists already. 2<sup>nd</sup> They extol masses, penances, funerals, and all functions that bring them money. 3<sup>rd</sup> They 'make broad

<sup>1</sup> 'To savour of sin' however, does not mean *to be sinful* in Wyclif's language.



their fringes' by letters of fraternity, admitting laymen into the Order; but this is concealed simony, being based on the tacit understanding that the lay Brother will help them with his money: take that away, and their spiritual aid is withdrawn. But merit, God's grace, can be neither bought nor sold. And this has no connection with the payment given to oratory-priests, which they deserve.

6<sup>th</sup> *Pravo corde machinatur malum*. The root of all intrigues is sectarian feeling. They consider only their sect's advantage, and thus sin more grievously as a body than so many separate individuals. Christ lived with His Apostles, but He knew whom to choose and how to instruct them; and they were afterwards dispersed. The Friars are as bad as the endowed monks. Their union crushes even the most legitimate opposition, for they employ every influence to gain their point. And all are responsible for this. Some good men remain amongst them; *others fly in despair, but if taken are put to death or in prison for life*. A curious quotation follows, comparing the Friars to wild geese; then comes an urgent appeal to Wyclif's friends amongst them to help him in exposing the others.

7<sup>th</sup> *Et omni tempore jurgia seminat*. Wyclif accuses them of sowing divisions in their own order, wars throughout Christendom, and dissensions in the Church; he attempts to prove the latter point from history. They do good, but also harm; and we know by faith and God's grace that the latter exceeds the former. — All this has no bearing upon some Friars *who are Wyclif's most dear sons* (p. 44); but if any do what is here denounced, it is the Holy Spirit, not Wyclif, that calls them by the name of apostates. All this has been said for the good of the Church, and of the Friars themselves.

Ch. III. Though the Eucharistic debates are, so far as I can see, independent of each other, it is yet not impossible to introduce a little order amongst them by classifying them as they stand. The *first*, beginning with Ch. III and ending at the close of Ch. VII, is so to speak a general attack upon the then universally received theory of the Eucharist. The *second*, beginning with the VIII<sup>th</sup> Ch. and ending with the end of the IX<sup>th</sup>, deals specially with the multiplication of Christ's body in the Eucharist. The *third* (Ch. X) is an enquiry into the essence or 'quiddity' of the Sacrament. The *fourth* (Chs. XI

to XV) is a more detailed attack on the accident-theory: going through many classes of accidents, Wyclif asserts that none can be absolute in the sense required. Chapters XV and XVI seem to be a written reply to some treatise or treatises composed against him. He carefully goes over all the authorities quoted by his adversaries, explains their meaning agreeably to his own views, and adds several very important remarks concerning his doctrine. Ch. XVII is principally a historical review of the institution of the Mass. Of course there is not a single chapter in which something extrinsical, either concerning the Friars, Church temporalities, or the power of the Pope, does not occur; but as I said before, unless something particularly worthy of notice comes to hand, I am obliged to confine myself to the main question and to overlook repetitions.

It is necessary to offer a few remarks as to the dogma of Transsubstantiation, and the philosophical theories connected therewith in the Catholic Church. Scholastic theologians were from the beginning in face of a universal belief in the real presence of Christ's Body in the Holy Eucharist; and that belief was borne out by the written tradition, both of the Fathers, of the Apostle Paul, and of the Gospels themselves. Here a difficulty occurred: the bread seemed to remain, assuredly; but if it remained *really*, how could Christ's body be *really* there? Nothing can be where it was not before, unless by a change of place, or by conversion of something else into itself.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, as Christ does not leave Heaven, the bread itself, remaining to all the senses as it was before, is changed into Christ's body; the substance, or as we might perhaps call it, the *noumenon* alone is changed, all the *phenomena* are what they were (Aq. S. Th. qu. 75, art. 2). This is a fresh mystery, which also requires to be explained: for how can appearances possibly exist, without anything that appears?

There is here a split amongst Catholic philosophers. The Scholastics answered the question thus: Every accident, while belonging to the substance, possesses a certain amount of reality, of entity, which is different from the latter; a bent finger being really different from a finger that is straight, that which makes the difference must

<sup>1</sup> This axiom Wyclif (p. 186, l. 2) is constrained to call heretical; for it is evidently in contradiction with his system, as we shall see.

be something real. Some of these realities are in their nature such that they cannot even be conceived without a subject; for instance, movement without something in motion is unthinkable. But we can imagine an accident of greater perfection than these, so that, though naturally requiring the support of a subject, its entity might miraculously exist, even were its substance to fail. From this results the Scholastic conception of quantity, which, according to Aquinas, remains in the Eucharist as the subject of form, colour, movement, taste, and all the other phenomena observed in the visible and tangible Host. The reader will of course ask: Can quantity exist without anything that *has* quantity? but the very question indicates that he has not sufficiently understood this hypothesis. Quantity is not a mere abstraction, nor a mere mode of being; it is quite different from *extension*, for it is that which *makes* extension, and may be defined as a force that extends material substance: *vis extensiva materie*. This force is really distinct from its substance, not as a mode differs from what it modifies, but as a thing differs from another thing, to which it belongs. Thus, after the words of consecration, the substance of bread is no longer there, but quantity takes its place, and upholds the other accidents naturally, being itself upheld by God's supernatural power; and therefore, whatever the bread could do, — even to feeding the body — is now performed by the quantity that remains (Cf. Th. Aq., S. Th., 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, qu. 77, art. 1, 2, 3, 6). On the other hand, though St. Thomas admits that the bread is nowhere after consecration, he denies that it is annihilated, since it is changed into Christ's Body (ib. qu. 75, art. 3); which is hard to understand, and is not, I believe, an article of faith. Neither is it *de fide* to maintain, as he does, that Christ, though really present, is not *locally* present in the Host, either as a body (*secundum modum commensurationis*) or as a spirit (definitive) but rather as the substance of bread was present before — identical in every part of the volume it occupied (ib. qu. 76, art. 4, 5).

So long as the old School held its sway, this theory, however mysterious, however unsatisfactory it may appear, remained the most popular, and most of the explanations that sprung up to supersede it approached the confines of heresy, if they did not go beyond them. Descartes, however, was a sincere Catholic, and yet would not admit



the Scholastic theory of quantity. According to him, it may be remembered, actual extension was the very essence of bodily substance, and the idea of absolute accidents seemed as absurd to him as it does to Wyclif. In his celebrated *Réponses aux objections de M. Arnauld*, he gives several arguments very like those employed in *De Apostasia*, and concludes thus: "Therefore, if I may here speak my mind truly and simply, I venture to hope that a day will come when the opinion admitting real accidents will be banished by theologians as suspicious in faith, revolting to reason, and quite incomprehensible; while mine will be received in its place, as indubitably certain". His opinion, briefly stated, is as follows: The existence of a bodily substance is known to us only through the continual movements of its surface, which proceed from the underlying substance and produce sensation in us. Now, the surface belongs as much to the surrounding substance as to that which is surrounded. (A vacuum, according to Descartes, is absolutely impossible). Suppose therefore that Transsubstantiation consists 1<sup>st</sup> in the *taking away* (whether by annihilation or otherwise) of the bread-substance; 2<sup>nd</sup> in the conservation of the surface with all the movements that would have been imparted to it, had the bread remained; 3<sup>rd</sup> in the real presence of Christ below that surface; and you have an explanation which is intelligible to the mind, which does not contradict the belief that the bread disappears, nor the opinion held by most Fathers, that *aliquitas panis*, something of the bread, remains. For the surface *is* the same.

There are several other theories; but I may now sum up the principal, four in number, none of which have been condemned as heretical; at least I believe not.

1<sup>st</sup> That of St. Thomas, who, believing with Aristotle that the *esse* of an accident is, and is only, in the substance, seems to admit the production of a new entity, by which quantity would exist alone, and could not do so otherwise; which he calls, not *substance*, but *subsistence* (Sum. Th. 3<sup>rd</sup> Pars, qu. 77, art. 1. *Ad 4<sup>m</sup> dicendum . . .*; and Com. in Sent. l. 4, dist. 12, qu. 1, art. 2). This opinion is the nearest to Wyclif's, though not identical; for the one imagines a new *subsistence* coming to uphold the accidents; and the other conceives them as still upheld by the old *substance*.



2<sup>nd</sup> That of Scotus, to whom the theory of absolute accidents, as above set forth, is to be ascribed. (Cf. Migne, Dict. de Th. Scolastique, art. *Substance et accident*.)

3<sup>rd</sup> That of Descartes, and in general the theory that ascribes a certain outward movement, resistance, &c., in the place where the bread was, due to supernatural agency.

4<sup>th</sup> The theory of intentional (or imaginary) accidents, that have nothing corresponding in the external world, and are purely subjective; which is exposed to the double inconvenience of making all our senses lie by Divine agency, and of taking no account of the belief that the appearances remaining are something really objective.

With regard to these theories, we must remark that most of Wyclif's arguments are merely directed against absolute accidents and the theory of Aquinas; some, however, go further; as when he says that, bread being called bread only on account of its sensible appearances, if these remain, the name cannot rightly be changed. This is almost a foreshadowing of a modern philosophical school. Lewes, in his *Problems of Metaphysics*, says very decidedly, "A thing is its qualities"; which amounts to the very same.<sup>1</sup>

I may now begin to examine Wyclif's Eucharistic doctrine.

As the result, he says, of the general apostasy in this second millenary after Christ, Satan being loosed, dreadful heresies concerning the Eucharist have crept into the Church. The theory which affirms the destruction of the substance of bread and wine<sup>2</sup> is opposed to the words of the Church services and hymns, to St. Paul, the Acts of the Apostles, and to the Gospels themselves. We ought to stand by Scripture; what Scripture, in six different places, declares to be bread, is bread. It is never called an accident, at any rate, as these lying masters say. If we begin to wrest words from their right sense, our faith will soon be perverted; for if the Pope has a right to do it in this case, why not in all others? Tradition too speaks likewise: Augustine,

<sup>1</sup> Though at present unable to identify the quotation, I am quite sure that it is in the work mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> We have already seen that St. Thomas formally denies annihilation, though in a very inexplicable way; it would therefore seem that Wyclif's opponents, either unawares or driven by the force of argument, had actually admitted it; the more so, as Wyclif alludes to this very often and very energetically.

Ambrose, Jerome, all use the same language; and Augustine calls the Eucharist Christ's Body *only in a certain way* (i. e. figuratively). John of Damascus says the bread and wine are joined to Christ's Body; and his example of a live coal, as wood united with fire, shows his position still more clearly. Even the words of this Saint, that 'the bread and wine are not a type, but the very body and blood of Our Lord', are to be understood in a figurative sense. A quotation from St. Ambrose, and a remark against the glossators who explain this Saint in the wrong way in several places, close the chapter.

Ch. IV. Continuation of the general thesis. After a protest against any authority but Holy Writ in matters of faith, the author brings in an argument which, under different forms, recurs very often in the book. Is *what we see* Christ's Body? If the adversaries answer Yes, he says: Then how can what we see be an accident without substance? Is Christ's Body an accident? And he points out (at least he does so in other places) the abject entity of an accident, which is lower than the vilest of substances, and less perfect than the worst poison: thus making of those who answer in the affirmative heretics of the most blasphemous sort. If, on the contrary, they answer No, then they admit that the visible and felt Sacrament has a nature which is not identical with Christ's Body; and this nature Wyclif calls the nature of bread. This argument is subtle and deserves attention, on account of the great stress our author lays upon it, and because, under another form, it may be and often has been used by philosophical controversialists. A man sees his friend in a mirror; being asked whom he sees, he answers, 'his friend'. The reply comes, 'Then your friend is only an image'. Or, 'Is this statue made by you?' — 'Yes'. 'Then you have made a piece of marble'. This class of arguments Aristotle calls fallacies *παρὰ τὸ συμβεβηκός*. And such arguments are very common indeed in metaphysical matters. Take, for instance, the subject of debate between Realists and Idealists at the present day: "What we perceive is only a modification of ourselves; now, what we perceive is the world; therefore, the world is only a modification of ourselves". It is clear that in any of these cases, to answer simply Yes or No, would be to stand committed to self-contradiction. We have, however, no interest in enquiring what the distinctions of Wyclif's opponents may or may not have been. On the other hand it is right,



I think, to point out that the Catholic Church really considers as idolatry the worship of the accidents *as such*;<sup>1</sup> and Aquinas (S. Th. 3<sup>a</sup> pars, qu. 76, art. 7) absolutely denies that Christ's Body can be seen in the Sacrament by any bodily eye, even that of a glorified Saint. If Wyclif only meant that, and chose to call the Host, as the Fathers often do, by the name of bread — merely asserting Christ's invisible presence, and saying that what appeared was not Christ, not to be adored, and only the sign of his presence, he could say all that, and yet remain orthodox. In *De Blasphemia* (yet unpublished, but of which I have had the advantage of seeing the MS.) Wyclif inveighs with just reason against those priests who let the people believe that their bodily eyes, seeing the Host, saw Christ, because this erroneous belief contributed, as they thought, to increase devotion, although it could not be reasonably maintained. But it may be as well to point out that the sentence: "What you see is bread", may be emphasized either thus: "What you *see* is *bread*"; or thus: "What you see *is* bread"; and it was certainly in the second way that Wyclif emphasized it.

Here, in order to understand better the strength or the weakness of our author's position, a short synopsis of the whole system of Realistic Philosophy is necessary. When we have a universal idea, as of *man* or of *animal* in general, the *object* of our thought is also universal: *one*, though *existing in many* individuals. This, denied by Nominalists and Conceptualists, was affirmed by the whole school of Realistic philosophers. But they split into moderate Realists and ultra-Realists. The former, with Aquinas and Scotus at their head<sup>2</sup> asserted that the *One in Many*, as in the external world, and the *One in many*, as in our thought, exist in two absolutely contrary ways. For instance, in our mind, *animal* is really and formally one; only fundamentally and potentially does it exist in many, i. e. when our mind applies it to all the individuals A, B, C . . . Z, of which it

<sup>1</sup> I happened once to come across a French prayer-book in which there was this expression: *ces espèces (species) adorables*; these adorable *appearances*. Of course, we must allow for looseness and inexactitude in a mere book of piety; but I feel convinced that, taken as they stand, these words might be condemned as heretical.

<sup>2</sup> I take no note here of the minor, yet considerable differences that separate these two philosophers.

can be predicated. In the external world, the contrary takes place. *Animal* is really and formally as many different animals as there are individuals A, B, C . . . Z; and it is only fundamentally and potentially<sup>1</sup> one, in so far as it gives a *foundation* by means of which, and the mind's abstractive power, it *can* become *one*. This, the reader may note, is not very far from Conceptualism, as expressed by some of its ablest exponents.

Now, this was not sufficient for the Ultra-Realists. They contended that the Universal existed in the world of things in the same way as it did in the world of ideas. Of course there were many different varieties, school within school; Prantl says there were as many as thirteen shades of Realism. Some went very far. David of Dinant admitted the identity of God with matter and spirit, "because, if not identical, there would be a Universal Entity wider than all, which would be above God, as embracing both matter, Spirit, and God". "Guillaume of Champeaux taught", says Abélard, "that the same thing or substance was present in its entirety and essence in each individual, and that individuals differed no whit in their essence, but only in the variety of their accidents".<sup>2</sup> They seem to have made of the world a bundle of universal qualities, of which the presence in some things, combined with their absence in others, creates all the differences that individuate material and immaterial existences. I may not have understood them properly; but if I do, their world was composed of Universals much as the chemist's material world is made up of elements; with this difference, however, that the oxygen in a given drop of water and in a given specimen of marble are only absolutely similar, not identically the same. And then, there would be the

<sup>1</sup> I was much disappointed not to find, in the very able article on Scholasticism in the Encyclopædia Britannica, the slightest mention of this distinction which is of supreme importance, as may easily be seen. All those distinctions between *universalia ante rem*, *in re*, and *post rem* are secondary. The great question which the opposite Schools had to answer was this: How can the same word, applied to *different* individuals, *mean the same thing*? Nominalists answer: It means the same thing i. e. the same *word*; Conceptualists say: It means the same thing, i. e. the same *idea*. Realists are forced (and I believe rightly) to say: It means the same thing, i. e. the same *object of the idea*.

<sup>2</sup> See Encycl. Brit., art. *Scholasticism*.



universal *Metalloid* present wherever there was *oxygen*, and in many compounds where oxygen was not; and so on. Wyclif admits this identity; at least *generic* identity, as he calls it. A man and a horse were indeed specifically distinct from each other; but they were generically identical, both having within them the element *animal*, meaning *the same thing* in both. That our author upheld this doctrine, even to the uttermost limits of making Being identical in all things, appears from his *De Ente Predicamentali*, now publishing, in which he affirms that Being is a univocal term, i. e. *means the same thing* in its individuals, like the other Universals. But if Being is the same and identical in all things, how is difference possible? It will be curious, when his philosophical works are published, to see how he manages to escape that pantheism to which the first ultra-Realists were driven. His doctrine of the Eucharist is an evident deduction from his Realism. Not to mention other points that will appear later, everyone admitted that an *aliquitas* of the bread remained in the Host; now this *aliquitas*, according to him, was identical with the *aliquitas* of Christ's Body that supervened; so there must in every case be a subject of the change, if it can be called a change. He develops a similar argument very cleverly and at some length in an account of a debate between himself and certain bishops, which I have copied from *De Blasphemia* to point out his doctrine more clearly; in *De Apostasia* he only alludes to it by the way.

"These heretics are said to condemn as heretical two propositions concerning the Eucharist . . . God moved a *certain secular Catholic doctor*, that he should not consent but contradict their foolishness. And he is said to have asked them if they intended to condemn as heretical the Saints' opinions respecting Universals *ex parte rei*, from which their signs take their names according to logicians. But they denied that, being ashamed. But he said: 'From this it follows that the substance of material bread remains in the consecrated Host. I say that the genus *substance* is wherever any individual of the genus is: But in the said Sacrament there is an individual of the genus *substance*; for, as you yourselves affirm, Christ's Body is there bodily; therefore the genus *substance* remains in the Host, and as it is a substance (because it is the essence of every material substance) it is thus bread. It follows that the substance of material bread

remains in the consecrated Host. And because they knew not how to remove this evidence, he sent them back as foolish men (*De Blasphemia*, c. 16)".

There would be many interesting questions connected with this theory of Wyclif, but it seems preferable to examine them as we go along, and continue the analysis for the present. — The chapter, a very short one, closes with two rather poor arguments. The sacrament is round, white, heavy, &c.; therefore it is the *subject* of roundness, &c. Evidently, only a logical subject is meant here. Still, *Ens* being univocal in Wyclif's theory, whatever is logical is real too; so, from his point of view, and his theory admitted, the argument may have weight. Again: if the Sacrament be the Body of Christ, and Christ's Body be thus without a subject, it follows that no Christian ought to be subject to Christ. Wyclif, feeling that many would set this aside as an idle quibble, points out that St. Peter uses the word subject in a sense relative to authority, and not as Aristotle uses it. But this argument seems to use it in both senses, and therein the fallacy would lie. He concludes by attacking the Friars with great vehemence for not stamping out this heresy; which negligence proves that they are either simoniacal heretics, or traitors of whom the land must be purged.

Ch. V. This chapter and the following ones until the eighth, are devoted to refuting the objections raised against Wyclif's theory. Grosseteste's authority, which is very great with Wyclif, probably on account of his resistance to the Pope in a certain well-known case of ecclesiastical discipline, is brought to bear against him. Here, however, and in general, whenever an authority is quoted, the candid reader will perhaps find that our author carries the liberty of explaining away texts that are against him rather too far. When Grosseteste and others affirm that the accidents exist *per se* in the Host, he adds, "that is, in the act of our mind's contemplation"; when they say that the bread and wine disappear, he makes this to signify "disappear from our mental vision". There is really no reason why he should not make his contemporary antagonists be also of the same mind as he was; for it is hard to conceive more expressive language than this. The fact is that Wyclif is much displeased with the glosses, of which he often complains, on account of the explanations they give to many



sentences that seem in his favour, thus turning them against him; and he no doubt wishes to show that, to use a homely expression, two can play at that game. Besides, his great contention is that Scripture alone is to be followed, and that both the Pope and the Fathers can mistake; so he is all the less scrupulous in explaining their words. If the explanation be unsatisfactory, they mistake, and that is all. — In the answer to the quotation of Grosseteste, we find a clue to his doctrine of the existence, at once figurative and real, of Christ's Body in the Host. After consecration, he says, we think Christ's Body present, the bread having become the sign of that presence. Time, the Universal, and the Sensible, have no actual and real *esse*, except in so far as the mind knows them; and so it is of the *esse* of every sign, *qua tale*. And yet every sign, besides the real *esse* that it acquires on becoming a sign, has also an independent natural *esse*. Thus, the bread being the sign of Christ's Body is Christ's Body in reality, according to Wyclif's system; while, at the same time it is mere bread from another point of view. Logically, I suppose that Wyclif would admit that a statue has two entities; the one, as being of stone, &c., shaped in a certain fashion; the other, as representing this or that person. St. Dionysius is also explained in the same manner; St. Ambrose likewise (pp. 62—65). Innocent III may have declared that the accidents remain without a subject; but besides his accustomed explanation of the sense (see above, for Grosseteste), Wyclif points out: 1<sup>st</sup> that any other sense would imply annihilation, which is inadmissible; 2<sup>nd</sup> that Innocent neither spoke by inspiration, nor grounding his decision on Scripture; and that therefore, 3<sup>rd</sup> he may have been as wrong as when he levied a tribute of 900 marks upon England.<sup>1</sup> Here Wyclif goes out of his way to deplore the growing perversity of the times, the doctors that uphold lying in Oxford, and the multiplication of heretics who consent to simony; concluding that Innocent's decree went no farther than did Nicolas' decision against Berengarius; and that if it did, we ought to respect it only in so far as it agrees with Scripture (pp. 65—68). When, v. g. Innocent goes beyond Scripture to determine doctrines

<sup>1</sup> Wyclif often returns to those 900 marks, which evidently rankle in his memory, as a good patriot. See p. 204, l. 20—23.

relative to the Holy Trinity, as in the Lateran Council, he would have done better to have let the matter alone, and contented himself with reforming the Church. It were blasphemy to say that all decrees of the Roman Pontiff are infallible; if he goes beyond Scripture, he is probably wrong. The antiquity, sanctity and science of the Roman See proves nothing as to infallibility (pp. 68—74). Notwithstanding the violent language that Wyclif very often employs with regard to the Roman Curia, and his evident disbelief in the dogma of infallibility, he generally admits the Decretals as binding, and even (p. 175) speaks vaguely of admitting the decision of a general Council on the Eucharistic question. Still, his principle of the necessity of personal righteousness (or rather of *predestination*), of which we never can be certain, to constitute a true Priest, Bishop or Pope, strikes at the root of all belief as to the infallibility even of a general Council; for we are never sure whether all — or even any — of the members of a Council are members of the Church at all. Should they decide in our favour, we might indeed believe that they were; but if they decide against us, they cannot be members of the Church. This shows that, though widely different in its starting-point and first principles from the Protestant forms of thought that had so much vogue at a later period, Wyclif's system is no less antagonistic *in practice* to the authority of the Church. Wyclif says explicitly: We must obey the Head of the Church, the Vicar of Christ. But that Vicar of Christ is the holiest, the most God-enlightened man in Christendom; which the Popes are certainly not.

Ch. VI. One objection against the reality of the presence ascribed by Wyclif to the power of the sign, is that Christ would be equally present in Holy Writ, which is His Word and His manifestation. The answer is not hard to find; there can be no equality, after Christ's express declaration. Any bread might be taken as the sign of Christ's Body (spiritual food); but "not every bread is consecrated with a mystic prayer", as Augustine says. If the argument ran otherwise, however; if Wyclif were asked whether any piece of bread, looked at by a Christian as the image of Christ, food of our souls, would be not equally but really Christ's Body, he would, I believe, have had consistently to answer in the affirmative. To point out this more clearly by an illustration, the Crucifix ought to be adored on



account of the real presence of Christ therein, less perfect than in the Host, but still real; since it really is a sign, an image of Christ, and that figurative entity constitutes a real presence, as we have seen. "Universals exist in the thing *as they exist in the mind*". Thus, we find in the next paragraph how he replies to the objection that in his system the whole world (including not only inanimate things, but good and bad men, and even devils) is a manifestation of God, and is consequently to be adored. He points out (pp. 72—73), that, according to the Apostle (I. Cor. VI, 28) Christ will after the Judgment Day be *omnia in omnibus*; which Wyclif takes to signify that Christ's Humanity will exist figuratively in every point of mundane space; and that (though he only expresses an opinion) this existence will extend only to the Blessed; so that, by His union with them, He will become the whole human race. Why this existence should be extended only to the Blessed, Wyclif does not stop to consider; nor does he explain why Christ will become the whole human race only *after* the Judgment, when, as may be seen at length in *De Benedicta Incarnatione*, Christ's assumption of the Universal "Humanity" really common to all men, identified Him with the whole human race from the very first instant of His conception. Probably the difficulties resulting from Christ's identification with such members of humanity as are reprobate, induced Wyclif somewhat to modify his theory; for it must be remembered that *De Benedicta Incarnatione* is one of his earliest theological works.

A long quotation follows (pp. 73—75) from a work called *De Divinis Officiis*, which is absent from the extant copies of that work. I was at great pains to identify this particular quotation, on account of the beauty of the passage, which is really admirable by its eloquence; but unfortunately I had to give it up. Some student of the Fathers may perhaps know at a glance whose it is by the very style; but for one little versed in that branch of study, and with no indication but the doubtful one given by Wyclif, who ascribes it to Ambrose, such a search is not likely to be always successful. From this passage, which he contends is completely in his favour, he goes on to bring forward again his theory of the binding of Satan (which means, he says, the diminution of his power to tempt man). During the first millenary after Christ, Satan was bound; now he is free, and the consequences to the Church are terrible. Gog and Magog (signifying

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Antichrist and his accomplices) have led it astray from Christ (pp. 76—78). It has often been remarked by editors of Wyclif, that "Gog", "Magog", "Antichrist", "satraps" are merely general expressions used by him to denote any persons following tendencies which he considers to be deleterious to the Church, and especially those who happened to be their chief exponents. But I do not know whether the influence of his general philosophical position on this view has been much noticed. As an ultra-realist, Wyclif was bound to call Antichrist any man who concentrated in himself the most of the Universal, "Antichristianism", which, we must never forget, was a non-entity, existing in its subjects as a defect. This explains how Wyclif, though he often personifies that non-entity in a vague manner, never thinks of attaching it to any particular institution, as, v. g. some Protestants, calling the Popes Antichrists, and admitting that individual Popes may be good men, are bound to admit that 'some Antichrists may be saved'; a most astounding conclusion, from which Wyclif's principle "In so far as any man is contrary to Christ, in so far is he Antichrist", always saved him. This may also explain why he never falls into those personalities in which Luther so frequently indulges, and why the names of the lower animals, coupled with those of his opponents, never degrade his pen.<sup>1</sup> To him, the Universal, as real as each particular personal entity, is far more important on account of its wide spreading influence for good or for evil. It is a curious fact that Luther, so remarkable in an opposite way, is said by Melancthon to have even during his monastic life preferred the Nominalist Occam to all other doctors.

The chapter ends with a short discussion about a particular theory which, so far as I am aware, never had any great notoriety, and which Wyclif easily proves to be self-contradictory. It holds that the bread and wine remain after consecration, but not in their nature; they become an accident. But, Wyclif argues, if it is admitted that the white colour which they see is bread, then the nature of bread must remain. And if the bread is the Body of Christ, it is no longer an accident; if not Christ's Body, we fall into the error of Berengarius.

<sup>1</sup> Not that he had no talent of invective. His opponents in this very volume are treated *in general* as wild geese, magpies, mad dogs (28, 42, 82).



If it is meant that the very nature of bread becomes an accident, that is absurd; the very idea of nature implies substance: unless indeed they meant (which they do not) "becomes an accident *in the minds* of the faithful". They indeed hold with Wyclif that bread is Christ's Body; but they degrade that bread into the lowest of entities, whereas he maintains its natural perfection. This heresy, expounding Scripture against the Spirit and the interpretations of the early Fathers, is absurd in its consequences and worthy of punishment by fire (pp. 78—81).

Ch. VII. In this chapter Wyclif keeps closely to his plan of answering all objections drawn from authority (here Gregory and Augustine) in the same way; pointing out contradictions with other passages, explaining the sense by a distinction and (implicitly at least) appealing to Scripture: with the difference that he here denies the authenticity of the work *De Eucharistia* ascribed to St. Augustine, and is probably in the right; though I have not been able to identify the passage that he quotes (pp. 82—86). He then attacks, not without reason, the Nominalistic explanation of the text "As often as ye shall eat of that bread", making it refer to Christ, because the same material bread can be eaten only once. Occam's disciples, who said that every substance is in its nature individual, and universal only in the mind, would of course not admit that any one could eat the *same* bread several times. Wyclif and all the Realists, on the contrary, maintaining that the essence of the bread already eaten is identical with that which is to be eaten, assert that the manducation of the same bread can take place more than once. He takes great pains to prove his assertion by quotations and arguments (pp. 86—90); and then, setting on the responsibility of the Nominalists all the corruption of the Church, he launches into a digression concerning temporalities, arguing that the clergy should have all things in common, and refuse endowments. To the possible objection that his arguments go so far as to prove that even temporal lords ought to have all things in common, he answers boldly: *So they ought* (p. 91). It is clear that he neither overlooked nor shrank from the Socialistic consequences of his doctrine.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There being infinite shades of Socialism, the word is not used here in any invidious sense. It is certain that Wyclif was practically a strong upholder of social order, as all his works show; and so are some Socialists at the present day.

Ch. VIII. It is a Catholic doctrine that Christ's Body is present, complete in all its parts, at every point of the Host; thus being multiplied indefinitely, as many times as there are points in the Host, and as there are different parts of the world, yet all the time remaining only one Body. This can be understood, Wyclif says, in three ways: either it is *dimensionally* in several places, or *virtually though in its own nature* (p. 92, l. 13; p. 110, l. 3—6); or virtually as in figure. I believe we may identify the first 'way' with the Thomist system; the second seems to coincide with the celebrated Scotist distinction, '*formalis ex natura rei*';<sup>1</sup> the third, I need hardly say, is Wyclif's opinion. The whole of the eighth chapter is a refutation of the Thomist doctrine; the ninth is partly an attack on the system of Scotus, partly an argumentation in favour of his own, partly a return to the debate relative to absolute accidents. Whilst, however, I recapitulate the many absurdities which Wyclif ascribes to the doctrine that admits the dimensional presence of Christ in the Host, I must in mere justice observe that some of them do not exactly hit the mark; if they did, St. Thomas would be conclusively proved to be no better than an idiot. His system, however, supposes Christ, with His dimensions, to be spiritually present, like the soul of man in his body, "*totum in toto, et totum in qualibet parte*", and therefore without any *extension* other than that which the Host itself occupies. It is a complete misunderstanding to imagine that Aquinas' theory encloses the length of six feet within the narrow limits of the smallest possible particle of the consecrated elements. 'This quantity, these dimensions of Christ's Body, have become spiritualised, idealised so to speak, to the point of no longer occupying space at all. In a word, the *force that extends* is present in Christ's Eucharistic Body; but its effect — i. e. actual extension — is miraculously absent, counteracted by Divine omnipotence. Any student of St. Thomas knows that this is the right explanation of his theory. I may now point out the chief issues in this chapter.

1<sup>st</sup> Every quantity, says Wyclif, is indefinitely great; if quantity is multiplied, so is its measure, space. 2<sup>nd</sup>. Quality, by a like reasoning,

<sup>1</sup> I am not sufficiently acquainted with the details of the Scotist system to know whether it applies this distinction to Christ's presence in the Host; but it is a convenient one, and I should think it very likely to be applied.



would be infinitely intensified. 3<sup>rd</sup> Negative qualities would be also infinite; v. g., the Sacrament would be infinitely dense and rare at the same time. 4<sup>th</sup> Men could be put, however distant from each other, into instantaneous communication. 5<sup>th</sup> The whole world, were it thus transsubstantiated, could be held in a man's hand; which is blasphemy. 6<sup>th</sup> The meanest of things would become God. (This wanders from the present question, being an attack on the accident-theory.) 7<sup>th</sup> Why should the Sacrament possess only *dimensional* quantity? Why not the other sorts: time, place, &c.? And if these are also miraculously preserved, it is no longer an entity, but a collection of incongruous entities. 8<sup>th</sup> If the absolute accidents, v. g. of a man and a woman, should beget a son, and that sinfully, yet they could not sin; they might be damned, and yet cannot suffer; nor can they beget. 9<sup>th</sup> A subdeacon, if he had power to transsubstantiate bread into the world, while a priest could transsubstantiate it only into Christ's Body, would be higher than the priest. 10<sup>th</sup> As the world essentially depends on the whole of its matter, a priest could not celebrate Mass without destroying the world; for he would destroy the substance of bread.<sup>1</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> A vacuum, abhorred by Nature, would be possible in the Host, where there is nothing present but quantity. 12<sup>th</sup> If contrary qualities can belong to the same thing in different places, a man, bilocated — existing at the same time in England and in India — might be living in England and dead in India.

Ch. IX. How then is Christ present in the Host? As the thing signified is present in the sign; the golden calf was a calf only figuratively, but this figurative entity was present in every part of the gold. So too of the brazen serpent; so too of the angels that represented the Trinity to Abraham; each of these types had its own separate and physical existence. The Sacrament is thus of a double nature, earthly and divine; not identically Christ's Body, though really so, our Lord's words being true. Thus there is but one Body, Christ's, as principally to be thought of. Its terrestrial nature is forgotten, absorbed by faith; yet we must not suppose that He is

<sup>1</sup> Annihilation, we may here observe, is still more repugnant to Realists than to other philosophers. For, material essence being in all things *absolutely* identical, the smallest amount of matter destroyed implies the destruction of *all matter*.

identified with the bread, 'impanated'; still less, become an accident (pp. 103—110). The same objection as before noticed recurs: is the world Christ's Body? Wyclif considers it prudent to believe Scripture and go no farther. Perhaps, after the Judgment, all things will be Christ — figuratively. As for bilocation, he denies its possibility; the same thing cannot be in two places at once. St. Ambrose could not have been at St. Martin's funeral and at Milan at the same time. Can the *soul* be at once in several places? It is doubtful; at any rate, matter cannot. True, great doctors have thought differently; but they have also contradicted one another. Wyclif's rule is to reject any proposition, not only when manifestly absurd, but when not proved by reason or revelation to be true. For that second reason, he would deny that the soul can exist in two places at once (pp. 110 to 115). But, it is objected, *is* implies identity between subject and predicate. Anything then would be identically Christ, since everything *is* Christ figuratively. Wyclif answers, admitting generic but denying numerical identity; the latter would be  $a = a$ , so that there can be no possible difference between the two. But Baptist *is* Elias, in so far as he represents him: no farther. The lowest degree of this identity is that given by natural signs, as smoke signifying fire; the next, by a supernatural institution, as the Paschal Lamb; the highest, by the miraculous coexistence of the thing signified; which is the Eucharist (pp. 115—118). I confess I do not see how, in Wyclif's theory, this coexistence is miraculous; but the unanimous language of the early Fathers whom he so much esteems, seems to have determined him to bring in a miracle.

Ch. X. A fresh debate commences here, on the essence or quiddity of the Sacrament; with, however, few points that have not been touched upon already. The exceptions are: 1<sup>st</sup> the statement that when an accident is the subject of other accidents, it necessarily becomes a substance (p. 121); which Wyclif might have developed into a much better and stronger argument; and, 2<sup>nd</sup> the answer to an objection taken from St. Thomas, concerning the Eucharistic fast. If the bread remains, how can a priest say two Masses in one day, since he must say the second fasting? The difficulty is so weak that it is surprising Aquinas should have made use of it; but Wyclif avails himself of the occasion to say boldly that the great point is to fast from sin (pp. 123—124).



Ch. XI. We here come to another attack upon 'absolute accidents'; here again consisting mainly of repetitions. The idea of an accident able to exist apart from its substance destroys the very nature of the term accident. Wyclif takes one meaning of the word, and will not allow that they can give another to it. In any case, he says, you have to posit *extension*, which cannot exist by itself; what is the use then of imagining besides a quantity that can do so? Quantity is but the 'being so great' of a substance (132—134). And if neither substantial form nor primal matter can exist alone, how can that which depends upon them do so? Abstract quality must exist in a subject, or be infinite, like the attributes of God (pp. 134—136). Names should be given to all things according to their qualities; if these accidents have all the qualities of bread, they should be called so. The arguments borrowed from the peculiar nature of quality, those against a vacuum, and those combating annihilation follow, rather more fully developed than before, but on the same plan (pp. 136—146). He closes by denouncing the pride of those who exalt themselves, under colour of magnifying God's omnipotence, and the fallacy of this assertion: The Pope admits transubstantiation: therefore absolute accidents exist (pp. 146—150).

Ch. XII. This chapter examines the different theories concerning the accidents supposed to remain in the Host. Some take it to be quantity (pp. 151—159); some, a congeries of different accidents (p. 159 to the end of the chapter); and some, quality (ch. XIII). — Quantity must have a subject. It is separable from its subject, more or less. Now even inseparable accidents, such as the power of laughing in man (an instance taken from Aristotle) are not conceivable without a subject. The Sacrament is active, which quantity is not. Existing in the concrete, quantity can be neither increased nor diminished; a number, if increased, is another number by the very fact. Now we see that quantity is increased in the Sacrament. The Nominalists change both religion and the laws of Nature; they would make all things infinitely great, quantity extended within quantity *ad infinitum*; and the absurd hypothesis of 'compressed quantity' cannot save them. — It is still more absurd to call the Eucharist an aggregate of accidents; every reason that makes against one, makes against the whole aggregate. A collective entity is no entity at all; the Fathers

never mention this scandalous theory, which resembles the apotheosis of Pagan idolaters, who made a god out of nothing. The Sacrament has weight; that cannot be accounted for on the hypothesis of an aggregate of accidents. This theory makes out the Sacrament to be (even after consecration) only a sign of Christ's Body; which is the heresy of Berengarius.

Ch. XIII. Quality, as an absolute accident, is here discussed. Of all the theories, it is the least improbable; a sacrament is a *form* of grace, and in so far a quality; some Saints besides have favoured this opinion, which is however inadmissible. The arguments already brought to bear against quantity are conclusive here too. Quality within quality would be multiplied *ad infinitum*. We cannot say that the Sacrament *is* whiteness, heaviness, &c. but that it *has* them; and for that reason Aquinas made quantity the basis that *has* (pp. 165—168). If however the substance of bread failed, when passing into the substance of Christ's Body, *nothing* would pass. Baptism does not annihilate the convert to whom it gives a new being. How this change is conceivable it is hard to say; whether natural, as in the eduction of forms, or supernatural, as in the present case. Whatever Pope Innocent may have decided, we are not under the Old Law now, and it is not practicable for the whole world to await the Pope's decisions. He ought not to be consulted, unless he is learned in Holy Writ. It is no matter what modern doctors think; Augustine denied the possibility of absolute accidents; and these doctors have often been in error: as v. g. in the question of temporal power (pp. 168 to 177). If any accident could be absolute, it would be either empty space or time: yet neither could exist without a world existing extendedly and subject to change.

Ch. XIV. Three Nominalistic theories respecting the essence of the visible Sacrament. The *first* says that the Host, having (like the Universals) no existence as such, except in the mind, is not Christ's Body as an actuality but in signification (in actu signato, non exercito). But then the Sacrament would be only a figure of Christ; nothing proves this theory; and any one could in that sense call himself God (pp. 186—187). The *second* asserts that the substance of bread *is* — i. e. has become — Christ's Body. But it were idolatry to worship bread; and bread cannot be said to become anything, when it totally



ceases to exist (pp. 187—188). The *third* maintains that the Host is not, but *has* Christ's Body. But this goes against Christ's own words at the Last Supper (pp. 188—190). The chapter closes with complaints against the glossators, and a Wycliffian gloss of contrary opinions, making them coincide with his own (pp. 190—193).

Chs. XV. and XVI. These chapters, which we must analyse together, seem to be an answer to tracts written by four opponents, and especially to one who had made up a 'genealogy' of testimonies against him, from his time up to Christ. They are perhaps the most important in the whole book; not so much, however, the answers to the authorities quoted, as what follows, towards the end of Ch. XVI. The answers come first, and take up the whole of Ch. XV (pp. 193—206) and a part of Ch. XVI (pp. 206—217). — (1) The *Doctors of the Sects* are set aside: they contradict each other. (2) *Grosseteste* contradicts himself. (3, 4) *Lombard* and *Comestor* are contradicted by the Sects. (5, 6) *Lanfranc* and *Guitmundus* wrote against Berengarius, whose error Wyclif detests. (7, 8) *Gandofilus* and *Paschasius* are mere make-weights. (9) *Arnulfus* does not go into the question. (10) *Bernard* is mistaken. (11) *Anselm* can be explained. (12) *Innocent's* words are not a decree *de fide*; even were they so, we ought not to follow them. A long debate about the Pope's authority follows, from Wyclif's usual standpoint. (13) (Beginning of Ch. XVI, and of the second series of witnesses — writers of the *first* millenary) *Raban Maur* is inconsistent. (14) So is *Bede*, unless explained. (15) *St. John Damascenus* is of Wyclif's mind: his expressions point either that way or to impanation or consubstantiation, and these two last systems are not admissible. Here our author gives by the way (p. 210) his definition of transsubstantiation: a change *from* the exclusion of any entity but bread *to* Christ's sacramental coexistence. (16, 17) *Urso* and *Isidorus* may be quoted against the accident theory. (18) *Ambrose* seems against Wyclif in only two passages, which, if against him, would be in favour of Berengarius. (19) *Jerome* teaches that Christ's word "Hoc" means bread. Here Wyclif remarks (p. 213) "I have often confessed that Christ's very Body, numerically the same that was born of the Virgin . . . that same body and substance is truly and really the sacramental bread, which the faithful perceive in the hands of the Priest. Yet I venture not to say that Christ's Body is identically,

substantially, corporally, or identically that bread". . . . If the reader has followed the explanation here given, I think he will see that in these words there is no contradiction; they are merely the outcome of Wyclif's philosophical position. At the bottom of the same page he even admits in a certain sense that Christ is *substantially* present, i. e., as a substance. (20) *Augustine* is either inconsistent or must be explained: besides, the work quoted may be spurious. (21) *Gregory* can also be understood in Wyclif's sense. As for (22, 23) *Ignatius* and *Dionysius*, they never mention accidents at all. If to these we add *St. Paul*, we have a second dozen of testimonies; and to crown all, Christ's words (pp. 213—217). But even the agreement of all the Fathers would amount to no more than probability, being only testimonial evidence; and they disagree (pp. 217—222). But how can we say that Christ's body is present just as in the Crucifix, *in signo*? Wyclif replies: Christ's Body, though only present *in signo*, is present otherwise than *ut in signo* (p. 223). I confess that this last distinction has puzzled me much. It seems to admit another sort of existence of Christ's Body in the Host, besides the 'sign existence'. And then Wyclif would perhaps be no more than an ordinary orthodox believer, who chooses to call by the name 'substance of bread' its visible and tangible appearances. But this again would clash with his Realistic theory. On the other hand, I am not inclined to think that he would take refuge in a mere verbal evasion of the question, though the whole of the book seems to point to that conclusion. This distinction seems hopelessly inconsistent with his former utterances. He goes on to say: Bread is not united to Christ's Body in the unity of one Person, but as nearly as possible to that union (p. 224). If I at all understand his theory, it runs thus: Every sign receives a certain figurative entity of the thing it signifies; and in proportion as the sign proceeds from a higher authority, this entity becomes more perfectly present. Our fancy may consider a lamb as the image of Christ, and it then *is* Christ — to a certain extent. But the Paschal lamb was much more so; and the highest possible perfection was reached, when Christ said of the bread: This is my Body. Thus I understand it: but then, 1<sup>st</sup>, the difference would be only one of degree, not of kind: how then can Wyclif say: *est tamen ibi aliter quam ut in signo*? And 2<sup>nd</sup>, the authority of Christ would suffice,



without the miracle that Wyclif everywhere asserts. Perhaps some Wyclif student may be able to point out where my exposition falls short, if it does fall short; for after all, he may have been inconsistent. — The chapter closes (p. 224—233) with an appeal to the authority of several of the early Fathers, in support of Wyclif's doctrine.

Ch. XVII. This is not a debate, though it of course contains much debatable matter. It reads much like a supplement or appendix. Its principal feature is an account of the gradual additions to the Mass, and the writer's opinion of them; with much against Friars, Orders, perpetual vows, and the power of the Pope. These last being mostly repetitions of what was said before, I can dismiss them without further notice. Before examining the ceremonies of the Mass, Wyclif relates a legend about an old monk who doubted whether bread was Christ's Body, until convinced by a miracle (p. 246—247). He then returns to the main question, and states that the Mass at first consisted only of the Lord's Prayer and of the words of consecration, and was said in the evening. The hour was soon changed; one pope ordered the whole Psalter to be sung before Mass (this was probably the origin of the Canonical Hours); another compiled an *antiphonarium* and introduced the *Kyrie Eleison*; another brought in the *Gloria in Excelsis*; others were the authors of various tracts, hymns, and prefaces, and ordered the *Credo* and the *Agnus Dei* to be chanted. Wyclif by no means approves of these innovations, though his tone is very reserved. If it is a sin now to change the established form of Mass, what was it then to have changed the form that Christ established? All these rites may be aids to piety, but it would be better if we could do without them. The argument of Solomon's temple, if urged, would allow burnt-offerings in our churches. Ceremonies are too much thought of in these days, and the spirit is held of too small account (p. 247—250). Wyclif, concluding *De Apostasia*, throws down a challenge to the Nominalists, or 'sign-worshippers'. This doctrine will be given to the public; let them also produce theirs.

If we set aside the strange distinction on p. 223, perhaps given to avoid a serious difficulty, I think we may come to the conclusion that the Realist Wyclif and the Nominalist Berengarius held objectively the same views on the Eucharist, and only varied in their manner



of expounding it. If the bread remained and there was only a figure of Christ in the Host, Berengarius had, consistently with his principles, to deny that this was in any sense a real presence;<sup>1</sup> it was only nominally Christ. Wyclif's theory, on the contrary, gave reality to the figure itself. Hence there is no tergiversation nor insincerity in his protestations that it is really and even substantially Christ; nothing can be more hearty than his condemnation of Berengarius; for, condemning him, he condemns the whole philosophical school of sign-worshippers.

I think I cannot do better than to quote in conclusion some remarks made to me by Mr. Matthew, in a recent communication on the subject.

"The truth is that Wyclif would like to avoid saying *how* Christ's Body is present. Christ's institution makes it clear that He is in the Sacrament otherwise than by that universal immanence by which He is in all things. If his opponents would let him, he would be content to say Christ was present *sacramentally* (as he does say sometimes). 'In signo' but not 'ut in signo' means that although His presence is figurative, it is not simply a figure, but has a special efficacy. What that is precisely he cannot tell, and loses himself in trying to express it. He is sure that the current explanations are carnal and wrong, but does not know how to replace them. See Arnold's *Select Works of Wyclif*, III, 426."

.... "There is a very good summary of his view in Lechler (Germ. ed.), I, 626; but neither Lechler nor anyone else can get a satisfactory and clear exposition, for the simple reason that Wyclif did not know what it was, though he thought he knew what it was *not*."

.... "He would have liked .... Queen Elizabeth's quatrain:

'Christ was the Word that spake it;  
He took the bread and brake it;  
And what that Word doth make it,  
That I believe and take it'."

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<sup>1</sup> The writer of the article Berengarius in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* says that he did not deny the real presence of Christ. But it is clear, from his whole doctrine, that he must have meant something quite different from what is meant here: v. g. a reality of grace, present in the soul, &c.

## CAPITULUM PRIMUM.

- A 37<sup>a</sup> Restat ulterius ponere aliud principium pro ambitu  
 B 49<sup>a</sup> heresis symoniace pertractando. Quamvis enim symonia,  
 blasphemia et apostasia convertantur ad subsistendi  
 consequenciam, cum nemo potest peccare in unam  
 5 personam divinam nisi peccet in quamlibet, tamen  
 ratio huius peccati triplicis, vel potius eius informitas,  
 est diversa. Peccatur enim in patrem (et per conse-  
 quens in totam trinitatem) quando liga qua coleretur  
 Jac. I, 27 omnipotens pater dissolvitur: et ideo Jac. I, dicitur:  
 10 "*Religio munda et immaculata apud deum et patrem, hec est*".  
 Nec est possibile quemquam incidere in mortale, nisi  
 sit de tanto apostaticus et per consequens blasphemus  
 et symoniacus. Ideo dicit decretum, 79<sup>a</sup> distincione,  
 capitulo X: *Si quis*, quod papa qui solum debet deponi  
 15 pro heresi (ut innuitur 40<sup>a</sup> distincione, capitulo *Si*  
*papa*) postquam ruperit ligam qua religiose debet servire  
 Christo in suo officio, quod non apostolicus sed apo-  
 staticus habeatur.
- Et concordat nomen *apostasie*, que *apostotare* procurat;  
 20 quod fit, quandocunque persona a lege domini recedit.  
 Et dicitur secundum grammaticos ab *apos*, quod est *retro*,  
 et *stolos*, *missio*; inde apostota, perversus refuga retro  
 VI, missus. Unde Augustinus vocat antichristum refugam.  
 12—14 Et sic loquitur scriptura Prov. VI: "Homo apostota, vir  
 A 37<sup>b</sup> inutilis, graditur ore perverso, annuit oculis, terit | pede,  
 B 49<sup>b</sup> digito loquitur; pravo | corde machinatur malum et  
 Job. omni tempore iurgia seminat." Et sic loquuntur scripture  
 XXXIV, 18 de apostotare, ut patet Job XXXIV et Ecclus. X et XIX.  
 Ecclus. X, 14  
 XIX, 2
2. perscrutando BE.      6. huius modi CD.      14. capitulo *deest* F.  
 22. per se perversus CD.      26. malum in D.      27. et omni virga E.  
 28. Eccles. ABCDE.

13. Decr. Grat. 1<sup>a</sup> Pars. Dist. LXXIX. c. 1.  
 1<sup>a</sup> Pars. Dist. XL. c. 6.

15. Decr. Grat.

To know what  
apostasy is, we  
must know  
what its  
contrary i. e.  
religion, is.

Different  
meanings of the  
word 'Religion'.  
1<sup>st</sup> Observation  
of the law of  
Christ.

Examples of the  
word used in  
this sense:  
Cornelius and  
the eunuch of  
Queen Candace.

Remark that  
neither of these  
owed his  
religion to  
Peter.

So religion is  
independent of  
Peter,  
much more so  
of any later  
Roman Pontiff.

To be religious  
it is enough to  
follow Christ's  
guiding; as the  
religious men,  
on the day of  
Pentecost.

Second meaning  
of the word  
religion:  
peculiar rites by  
which some  
men are  
distinguished  
from the rest.

No Scripture  
warrant for this  
use of the word.

Ad cognoscendum autem apostasiam, oportet precognos-  
cere religionem, cum contrarium privativum oportet  
cognoscere per suum contrarium positivum.

Dupliciter autem appellatur religio; primo modo  
observancia legis Christi; et illa describitur, Jacob. 1<sup>o</sup> 5  
eius capitulo, ut alias diffuse exposui. Sic etiam vocatur  
miles Cornelius vir religiosus (Actuum X<sup>o</sup>) etiam ante-  
quam loquebatur cum Petro. Et sic indubie Ethiops Act.  
eunuchus Candacis regine (de quo actuum VIII<sup>o</sup>) antequam VIII, 27  
conversus fuerat a Philippo: quia interna dei inspiratio 10  
religiositatem illam inducit, licet non autorisata fuerit,  
approbata vel cognita ab inferiori preposito. Quod  
docet fides scripture de istis duobus religiosis militibus,  
quorum primus factus est religiosus a Christo antequam  
loquebatur Petro et secundus post religiositatem quam 15  
Christus instruxit, instructus est a Philippo, non Petro;  
ut vel sic discamus religionem et alia opera meritoria  
ecclesie per se sufficienter dependere a Christo, non  
Petro; et multo evidencius non a posteriori Romano  
pontifice. De multis namque est evidens vel dubium 20  
quod non sunt membra sancte matris ecclesie. | Et sic A 37<sup>e</sup>

eorum auctorisacio non per se pertinet ad religionem  
quam Christus instituit, sed per se nuda approbacio  
Christi et instinctus quem ipse inspirat. | Et sic legitur B 49<sup>e</sup>  
Act. 1<sup>o</sup>, quod erant habitantes in Jerusalem Judei genere Act.  
viri religiosi per dispersionem captivitatis ex omni II, 5  
genere nacionis. Et utinam non forent hodie plus  
sophisticati religiosi quam illi fuerant.

Secundo modo vocantur religiosi qui per adinventas  
sectas et tradiciones cum aliis ritibus sensibilibus a 30  
residuo populi distinguuntur. Et isto modo narrat magister  
hystoriarum super evangelia, quod tempore Christi tres  
secte fuerant in Judea, scilicet: Pharisei, saducei et  
Essei; et narrat distinciones ac observancias quas  
servabant. Isti autem vocantur sic famose religiosi, 35  
licet in scriptura infundabiliter; quod nomen tocus  
religionis quam Christus in fide scripture instituit, est  
extinctum.

4. Tripliciter BE. 5. vere observancia BEF; *ib.* et illam describitur E;  
illam describit B. 9. candatis regimine A. 10. dei *deest* F. 11. reli-  
gionem BE; religionem illum C; religioni illum D; *ib.* auctorisata E.  
19. non a Petro D. 22. per se *deest* EF. 24. inspiravit E. 26. disper-  
sionem A; disposicionem E; *ib.* capacitatis E. 28. sofisticati F.  
31. ritu *pro* residuo E. 32. in hystoria scolastica super E.

32. See note to Engl. Works of Wyclif, Matthew, pag. 489.



- C. Sed notandum est diligenter ulterius, quod religio illa intelligi potest dupliciter: vel simpliciter, ut dicit aggregatum ex humanis ritibus et essentiali religione quam Christus instituit; vel personaliter, ut dicit per se religionem Christi et religionem privatam, de quanto religioni illi consonat accedentaliter adiacentem. Et isto modo videtur michi scripturam loqui Act. XXVI, ubi Paulus sic loquitur: "*Secundum certissimam sectam nostre religionis vixi Phariseus*". Et propter aliquas observationes eorum laudabiles, contendunt quidam inaniter, quod Christus fuerat Phariseus. Non dubium Paulus non sic fuit desponsatus cum illo ordine phariseico; sicut nec Nicodemus, de quo Joh. III<sup>o</sup>; vel alii sancti religionis istius, quod eo ipso quo ritus istos adiectos dimitterent, forent apostate. Et in illis religionibus privatis sunt et fuerunt multi sancti clerici et subtiles. Primum autem membrum istius divisionis voco religionem privatam simpliciter, et secundum membrum voco religionem privatam per accidens.
- Dividitur autem religio privata aliter in possessionatos et expropriarios; possessionati vero dicuntur religiosi, quibus sunt redditus elemosinarii perpetuo humanitus assignati; ut monachi atque canonici. Expropriarii vero sunt religiosi viventes dumtaxat de elemosina temporali: ut fratres. Et intelligendo divisionem predictam de religiosis privatis per accidens, patet quod religio possessionata fuit expropriataria et econtra. Sic enim dicit beatus Bernhardus in libello intitulo *apologeticum*, quod idem est ordo et eadem religio monachorum que fuit pauperum Jerusalem, tempore apostolorum. Et illi fuerunt pauperes indubie expropriarie, habentes omnia in communi.
- Est autem difficultas et dissensio, ut sepe tetigi, unde individuuantur et distingantur ordines fratrum ab ordinibus possessionatorum.
- Et videtur decretalem (in 5<sup>to</sup> decreto, titulo *de apostatis*) innuere, quod habitus corporalis individuatur et distinguit ordines illos ab invicem. Nam ibi sic scribitur in capitulo I<sup>o</sup>: "Clerici qui relicto ordine et habitu suo,

The latter sense of the word can be taken in two ways. Either simply, as an aggregate of human rites, with Christ's religion or personally, in so far as a man's personal religion happens to correspond with the former. Wyclif divides private religion into simply private and accidentally private. Another division: men with and men without possessions. Who are those with possessions. Who are those without possessions. That Religion, which now holds property was formerly dispossessed; and vice versa. St. Bernard compares monks with the members of the Church at Jerusalem, who were certainly without possessions.

A difficulty as to what makes one order differ from another.

For the Decretal seems to say that it is the monastic garb Decree quoted.

2. tripliciter BEF. 6. accedenter C. 10. quidam eorum E.  
12. fuerat sic E. 15. regionibus B. 24. dicuntur E. 27. Sicut E.  
30. paperum A. 31. expropriarii CE. 38. describitur D. 39. in deest E.

30. S. Bernardi. Apologia ad Guillelmum. c. X. (t. 182, pag. 912, ed. Migne). 36. Decr. Gregor. IX, lib. V, tit. IX, c. 1.

in apostasia tanquam laici conversantur, si in criminibus comprehensi tenentur per censuram ecclesiasticam, non precipimus liberari." Et ex isto videtur innui, quod B 50<sup>a</sup> religiosus relinquens habitum corporeum, fit eo ipso D. apostata: quod non haberet colorem, nisi habitus talis foret essentialiter ad ordinem requisitus.

Proofs that the habit is essential:

I. Putting off the monastic garb makes an apostate.

II. That which makes a specific distinction is essential; but the orders of friars are specifically distinct.

In any order, only the garb and the rule distinguishes it; but they all profess the same rule.

III. If the garb was not essential, any one might set it aside at will; and all the different orders would be in confusion: which is against the Decretal.

It says 'that a monk, if he have received Holy orders when in a state of apostasy, cannot exercise sacred functions without a special dispensation from Rome'.

Arguments to the contrary. The condition of the mind does not depend upon clothing.

Item, inter 4<sup>or</sup> ordines mendicantium est distincio specifica; quia aliter liceret sine dispensacione ab uno transire ad alium. Sed non sic distingwerentur, si non per habitus corporales: igitur conclusio. Nam, quantum ad regulam, tres istorum ordinum preter fratres minores profitentur regulam Augustini; sicut et 4<sup>or</sup> alii famosi ordines possessionati. Oportet igitur dare aliquam differentiam sensibilem secundum quam a populo distingwantur.

Item, si quilibet talis habitus foret accidentalis ordini vel religioni, tunc liceret homini sine auctoritate superioris, habitu tali dimisso, alienum induere; et foret confusio ordinum, cum cuilibet religioso liceret habitum quemcunque — etiam laycalem — quocienscunque et quamdiu libuerit induere atque exuere: quod videtur esse contra decretalem pape (in quinto decretalium De Apostatis, capitulo *A nobis*) ubi docetur quod abicientes habitum licet stricto carceri mancipare. Et capitulo finali dicitur quod monachus in apostasia recipiens alique sacrum ordinem, etiam reconciliatus per penitentiam suo abbati, absque dispensacione Romani pontificis ministrare non potest in ordine sic suscepto. Et prima consequencia videtur ex hoc quod, posita tanta accidentalitate, staret servata religione vel ordine in multis casibus habitum talem licenter exuere, quia ex quo stant cum ordine licet priori precipere virtute obediencie, quamdiu voluerit habitum talem dimittere; et sic de aliis casibus infinitis. Si enim impossibile potest cadere obedienciaro sub precepto, multo magis accidentale possibile, religioni indifferens, ymmo quod potest esse meritorium et rationabiliter faciendum.

In oppositum videtur quod omnis vera religio consistit in animo, et per consequens est cuicunque habitui corporali inpertinens. Quis, inquam, dubitat, quin habitus mentis non dependet ab habitu corporali?

9. exire F. 13. ergo EF: *ib.* ergo dare aliam regulam B. 20. eruere A.  
21. in deest E. 22. septimo nobis D. 24. ultimo E. 31. hoc statu  
pro quo stant E. 38. anima F.



Item, ut logici arguunt, aliter consumpta et inveterata foret proportionaliter talis religio, ut contingit pannorum consumpcio; et, abiectis pannis, gracia mutacionis vel balnei, sic mutans in apostasiam incideret! Ymo cum religio servatur in pannis, moveretur cum illis; et laicus ydiota vel asinus, habitum talem indutus, fieret ut sic illius religionis vel ordinis.

If so, religion would be used up and worn out as the rags themselves wore out. An ass, dressed in the garb, would belong to the Order.

Nec valet fingere quod oportet exuentem habitum essencialem propter causam necessariam partibiliter in-  
A 38° duere alium habitum | pro eodem tempore quo prior habitus partibiliter est exutus; quia ordo sic veterasceret et susciperet magis et minus ut inducio vel mutacio talis habitus, cum aliis multis adducendis, que sunt similia deliramentis puerilibus.

15 Item iuxta istam sententiam papa non posset dispensare cum ordine, variando habitum et ritus alios corporales: consequens impossibile. Et consecuencia sic probatur: Nichil quod est diferencia essentialis vel passio potest vel per deum separari a subiecto remanente, igitur evidencius papa | hoc non potest; quia aliter posset in contradictoria, ultra deum. Ideo dicit Bernhardus glozator cum textu super 3<sup>o</sup> decretalium de statu monachorum (capitulo, *Cum ad monasterium*) quod monachum potest papa facere proprietarium, sed non  
B 50° potest facere quod simul sit monachus et proprietarius.

Further, the Pope would have no power to change the garb of an Order; but this is impossible, because he cannot be said to have more power than God. But God Himself is unable to take away an essential difference, the subject remaining the same: For He cannot do what involves contradiction. The Pope makes many changes of garb. He even grants dispensations concerning the use of fleshmeat.

Ex quo patet quod aliquis ritus est essentialis ordini, preter habitum corporalem, cum quo papa dispensare non potest stante ordine. Sic enim limitatus est habitus a papa nigris canonicis, sic et variantur albi monachi  
30 a nigris in habitu, stante ordine, sic etiam mutatus est habitus Carmelitarum stante eodem ordine, ut patet notanti cronicas istius materie. Et evidencius potest ostendi per hoc quod papa dispensat cum multis ordinibus de esu carnum, etiam in refectorio; cum igitur hoc sit pro-  
35 pinquius religiositati, quam habitus corporalis; multo evidencius potest dispensare cum illis quo ad talem habitum.  
F. In ista materia non delectat fidelis contendere quia est tradicio humana preter fidem scripture. Videtur

Conclusion: The garb is not an essential.

5. moveretur *struck out* A; servaretur B; moneretur D. 9, 10. essencialem — habitum *deest* C. 12. induccio ACD. 16. alios ritus E. 17. Conclusio E. 18. essentialis *deest* E. 23. capitulo — monasterium *deest* E; *ib.* ad modum E. 29. alibi ABD. 30, 31. sic — ordine *deest* AD.



Neither ceremonies nor garb are essential to any good religion. A good 'religious' ought to be indifferent to all that, so far as no scandal is given to his brethren.

Solution of difficulties.  
I. Bodily garb is a sensible sign by which religious orders happen to be known to differ; but it is not the cause that makes them to differ. An order combines Christ's religion with a tendency towards certain practices; which last vary according to circumstances.

II. The four orders of friars are distinguished by their obligations and disposition to certain practices, but not by the practices themselves; the former would distinguish them even if the latter perished.

tamen michi probabile, quod nec ritus, nec habitus corporalis sit essentialis cuicunque bone religioni vel ordini, sed cuicunque bono religioso debet esse indifferens ritus vel habitus corporalis. Sic tamen, quod non det scandalum fratribus; quia cum quocunque tali habitu 5 posset fidelis eque bene facere opus religionis quam Christus instituit. Ut si duo iuga ordinum fratrum commutarent simpliciter habitus corporales et de com-possibili meliorarentur in operibus religionis foret me- | B 50<sup>d</sup>  
lius ecclesie et placencius deo, quam est modo. 10

Ad primum trium argumentorum que fiunt in oppositum, dicitur quod habitus corporalis est signum sensibile sed per accidens quo cognoscuntur illi ordines distingui ab invicem, non causa distinctionis. Sed intelligendo ordinem privatum simpliciter potest dici, 15 quod est unum agregatum ex religione Christi et privatis professionibus vel habitus mentis ad tales ritus corporales vel habitus observandum; et sic habitus tales in anima videntur obiective terminari ad genus ritus et habitus corporalis succedens pro suo tempore. Et 20 sic necessitantur loquentes in ista materia ponere cum extensione temporis res communes, ut frater non tenetur de essentia ordinis | habere hunc vel illum habitum A 39<sup>a</sup> corporealem sed tenetur pro loco et tempore habere talem, saltem adiacente possibilitate parium cum hoc 25 vovit; et irrationabiliter solvens hoc votum, induendo habitum alterius generis secundum leges signa querencium tamquam apostota est punitus.

Ad secundum argumentum conceditur, quod isti 4<sup>or</sup> G. ordines distinguuntur specificè penes obligationes et 30 habitus mentales ad talia genera particularis observancie; sed non penes particulares habitus corporeos, nec penes illa genera distinguuntur; quia stante obligatione et habitu mentali et eciam pereunte toto genere ritus vel habitus corporalis, non minus distinguerentur illi 35 ordines, licet signa sensibilia quibus recognosceretur ordinum illorum distinctio desint simpliciter. Et patet quod minor | argumenti est falsa, cum ordines tales B 51<sup>a</sup> distinguuntur penes obligationes et habitus mentales; cognoscuntur autem a populo distingui penes habitus 40 corporales. Unde sicut illa noticia est accidentaliter or-

19. ostenduntur C. 24, 25. sed — talem deest C. 26. ei rationabiliter CE. 34. eciam deest F.

- dini, ita sepe in illis signis populus est seductus. Et patet quod regula non per se distinguit, cum regulam Christianam fratres et possessionati omnis sexus fidelium sacerdotes et layci profitentur. Augustinus autem dedit  
 5 regulam scripture pro perfectis clericis in communi viventibus, nec curavit de specie forme, coloris vel precii habitus corporalis; ideo propter adiectiones talium  
 A 39<sup>b</sup> rituum | sunt multi ordines adinventi et infiniti alii possunt addi; ut omnes cathedrales ecclesie et omnes  
 10 conventuales clerici debent ut ego estimo servare regulam Augustini. Unde adiecta variatio et subtilizatio est a malo.
- Ad tertium argumentum videtur michi, quod conclusio est concedenda; nam licet fratri minori in tempore necessitatis habitum veterem proicere et novum induere licencia Romani pontificis non petita, sed indui habitum alienum abiectiorem; et limites illius generis nescit Romanus pontifex diffinire, sicut nec scit specificare strictitudines istorum ordinum quas patriarche qui  
 20 ipsos fundaverant statuerunt.
- H. Ideo sepe dicit se dispensare cum ordine et apostatando alienum peiorem instituit, ut minus degenerarent fratres predicatorum, si cum esu carniū quilibet eorum fuerit uxoratus, quam cum predicto esu quilibet eorum  
 25 fuerit civilis proprietarius. Minus etiam degenerarent, si quilibet eorum foret factus vicarius, rector sive episcopus quam quod manendo penaliter claustrales contra Christi pauperiem conspirarent. Et tercio minus degenerarent quicumque religiosi induendo habitum  
 30 alieni coloris vel forme, quam induendo habitum preciosum eiusdem coloris et forme, habitu mentali Christiani ordinis plus mutato. Ideo ad regulandum hos ordines, necesse est regulam scripture et religionem  
 A 39<sup>a</sup> suam attendere, quia | papa sepe in talibus decipit atque  
 35 decipitur. Nam, ut dictum est, papa non habet potestatem, nisi ad edificandum ecclesiam sive statum, et sepe per suggestiones falsas et dispensaciones symoniacas facit contrarium; unde credo quod papa plus prodesset ordinibus precipiendo eis virtute obediencie annuatim  
 40 alternare in ritu et habitu corporali, vel melius nulli

As to the rule, it cannot distinguish them by itself, no more than the observance of Christ's law can distinguish clergy from laity.

Augustine laid down a general rule to which the cathedral and conventual clergy ought to have been kept.

III. We grant the conclusion, viz., that any one may set the garb of his order aside, when necessary, and that without asking the Pope's leave.

Dispenses are delicate things. And it would be better to enter the secular clergy than to conspire against poverty in the cloister. And better to change the colour or form of their dress than, keeping to them, wear costly stuffs.

2. illa regula E. 5. perfectis E. 6. colorat E. 8. modernorum rituum CDEF. 19. parochiane E. 20. ipso C. 22. alios peiores; alium peiorem in margine B. 23. sed E. 34. quod C; ib. decipit E. 38. plus deest ABCD.



It would be better if the Pope were to change all rites than to punish any one on account of mere signs.

Religious men are called apostates, only for having changed their garb.

Why the Pope claims authority over all Orders: 1<sup>st</sup> to get more money; 2<sup>nd</sup> to be praised everywhere by them; 3<sup>rd</sup> to be more evidently great by ruling over them.

This apostasy of pride makes the Pope grant dispenses rashly.

Blindness with which he grants dispenses, and lays claim to authority.

Let him note what Hugo has written on dispenses; saying that there can be no dispense without compensation; the word coming from *dispendium*, and in itself meaning loss.

tali ritui obligari, quam sic punire religiosos propter traditiones signorum. Necesse est tamen generacionem adulteram signa querentem, precedente peccato, in signis sacramentalibus signa false attendere plus signatis; ut hodie vocantur apostate, nedum qui habitum alienum induunt, sed qui religiose in comitivis honestioribus conversantur. Unde, sicut fingitur ordo et apostasia, sic fingitur sepe irrationabiliter pena gravior pro actu religioso vel apostatico stante fama, quia satrape plus petunt apparenciam mundanam quam existenciam vere religionis qua deus placaretur.

Et correspondenter irreligiose puniunt. Papa eciam dicitur vindicare de privatis ordinibus regimen capitale atque dominium | propter tria: primo ut pecunia sedi B 51<sup>e</sup> sue copiosius cumuletur; secundo, ut nomen sue sanctitatis sophisticè per illos dispersos in populo publicetur; et tercio, ut sua pomposa excellencia per regulacionem ordinum quibus insidet patencius promulgetur. Et hec apostasia superbie facit papam in accidentibus suis, scilicet colore et figura, cum religiosis temere dispensare; dispensat enim faciendo religiones in toto novas, et sepe nescius illudit plebi atque ordinibus post quantitatem in eukaristia in isto duplici genere qualitatatis. Et sicut cece confert omnia beneficia regnorum, sic dispensat et auctoritatem vindicat in religiosis qui lanam induunt, propter causam triplicem assignatam.

Notaret, inquam, dictum Hugonis De Sacramentis parte 12<sup>a</sup> capitulo 5<sup>to</sup>. "Dispensacio esse non potest ubi recompensacio esse non potest: dispensacio quippe nomen *dispendii* est et detrimentum sonat quantum in ipso est; stultum vero est voluntarie dampnum sustinere ubi nullum lucrum sequitur. Ubi autem in parvo detrimentum tolleratur voluntarie, ut in maiore lucrum proveniat; hec bona est dispensacio". Et post declarat, quod non cadit dispensacio super lucro anime merendo beatitudinem; sed quid papa scit si commutationes quas facit ordinibus, faciunt ad detrimentum anime? Videntum est igitur de apostasia qua a deo receditur, et illa

5. homines EF. 6. qui *deest* in EF; *ib.* commitis F. 9. quam pro vel F. 10. appetunt E. 12. plus puniunt EF. 16. potestatis EF. 17. per rationem E. 19. suis *deest* in CDE. 20. scilicet *deest* in E; *ib.* signa pro figura E. 23. quantitatis E. 33. voluntarie tolleratur E. 34. plus pro post D.

27. Hugo a Sancto Victore, *De Sacramentis*, lib. II, parte 12, c. 5 (p. 522, t. 176, ed. Migne).



sola est laudabiliter punienda. Unde glossa Bernardi  
super primo capitulo de apostatis in quinto decretalium  
B 51<sup>4</sup> narrat de apostasia triplici: scilicet perfidie inobe-  
diencie et irregularitatis adinvente. Sed indubie omnis  
5 ponderanda apostasia est perfidie, inobediencie et irre-  
regularitatis contra religionem quam Christus instituit.  
1. Nec scit papa si commutatio quam facit sit dispensacio  
vel dispendiosa commutatio ad anime detrimentum,  
cum prudens animus illud optime in se ipso discerneret  
10 et a Christo inconsulto papa dispensacionem acciperet.

Nec dubium quin pena incarcerationis et privacionis  
quam inponit vocatis apostatis sit sepe illicita et regaliis  
regum contraria; quia regum est et non pape inponere  
legiis regum penas huius modi corporales. Sicut igitur  
15 talis incarceration religiosorum procedit ex temeritate  
cleri presumpta, sic ista tolleracio principum quo ad  
suos legios procedit ex culpabili eorum negligencia, ut  
ostendi in tractatu *de rege*.

Ideo quererent domini regnorum qua auctoritate sic  
20 faciunt religiosi sui; si auctoritate dei, ostendant locum  
legis sue, ex quo licet eis sic facere; si auctoritate prin-  
cipum, debent ostendere quod licet eis auctoritatem cui  
Matth. cipum, debent ostendere quod licet eis auctoritatem cui  
XVIII<sup>17</sup> Tit. talem conformiter scripture exequi, cum Christus pre-  
III, 10 cipit, Matth. XVIII<sup>10</sup>, apostatam talem sic ut ethnicum et  
25 publicanum relinquere. Et apostolus precipit ad Titum III<sup>10</sup>  
A 40<sup>b</sup> hereticum huius modi devitare. | Quid igitur commodum  
insurgit regibus, quod consenciant suos legios tam irre-  
regulariter cruciari? Augustinus autem precipit tales a  
B 52<sup>a</sup> societate sanctorum proici, indubie sine concussione |  
30 ut fecerunt apostoli; sed glozatores perfidi, ut alia dicta  
sancti, sic sinistre intelligunt: *proiciatur*, id est, *in artum*  
*et tetrum carcerem detrudatur*. Ad quid, rogo, diceret  
sanctus, 'eciam si ipse non abscesserit de nostra societate  
proiciatur', nisi quia talis apostata gratis cum gaudio  
35 societatis potest recedere et non per incarcerationem  
inprovidam consortium amplius contaminare.

Sed dubitatur, primo, si talis religio privata sit per-  
feccior quam communis religio Christiana: et patet quod

And the pope  
cannot say  
whether the  
changes he  
makes are a  
real dispense  
or a change  
costly to the  
soul.

The  
punishment of  
incarceration,  
commanded by  
the Pope, illegal,  
as encroaching  
upon kingly  
rights, proceeds  
from temerity  
of the clergy,  
and culpable  
negligence of  
the king.

An apostate, by  
Christ's  
teaching, is to  
be as a heathen  
and a publican.

St. Paul  
prescribes to  
Titus the  
avoidance of  
such a man.  
Augustin rules  
that such must  
be 'cast out of  
the society of  
the Saints'  
surely without  
violence.

This word  
cannot signify  
imprisonment,  
by the context.

Return to main  
argument:

First question:

Whether

'religious (i. e.  
monastic) life  
is more perfect  
than ordinary  
Christianity.'  
Negatived.

8. dispensa EF. 13. regum *deest* E; *ib.* contraria; illicita quidem,  
quia infundabilis in Scriptura; et regaliis contraria, quia BF. 14. leges B.  
16. tali E. 19. querent E. 22. cui *deest* F. 30. licet E. 32. pena-  
liter detrudatur EF. 33. vestra BE.

2. Decr. Gregor. lib. V, tit. IX, c. 1. 28. Aug. *Regula ad  
servos Dei*, art. 7. *De fraterna correctione* (p. 1381 of t. 32,  
ed. Migne).

non, ex sepe et diffuse dictis alibi. Pro quo suppono quod religio privata intelligatur simpliciter pro agregato ex omnibus votis et obligationibus, quibus religiosus astringitur, ut in tali ordine, et communis religio Christiana que in scriptura sacra est expressa, ad quam omnis 5 fidelis de necessitate salutis astringitur.

1<sup>st</sup> The general Christian life, as more simple, necessary, and authorised, is more perfect — 1<sup>st</sup> more simple. Every 'private' religion must add to this. 2<sup>nd</sup> More necessary. For it alone is necessary to salvation. 3<sup>rd</sup> More authorised. Ordinary Christianity was promulgated by Christ, followed by Him, and handed down to the Apostles now nothing of this is true of the other 'religions'.

Et tunc probatur conclusio negativa; primo sic: Communis Christiana religio est simplicior, necessarior et autoritativior: igitur est perfectior. Est, inquam, simplicior, quia oportet quamcunque religionem privatam 10 isti superaddere; ideo solebam dicere, quod religio ipsa presupponitur ad alias, sicut forma substantialis ad formas accidentales, et talis est perfectionum comparacio. Et quod sit | necessarior, patet; cum ista et non alia A 40<sup>a</sup> requiritur ad salutem. Nam per istam religionem sine 15 alia crevit ecclesia, per istam rapuerunt apostoli et alii magis sancti regnum celorum et sine ista principante non valet alia, sed econtra; et quod sit autoritativior, patet notando fundatores religionum et expressiones earum in fide scripture. Nam ex fide capimus quod omnis 20 veritas est ex scriptura, et ut necessarior est expressior; | B 52<sup>a</sup> aliter enim autor religionis summe potens, sciens atque benivulus foret improvidus, nisi religionem cariorem magis exprimeret. Illa igitur quam ore sua expressit, in persona sua servavit et apostolis atque carioribus eius discipulis 25 servandam tradidit, excedit aliam adiectam cui non convenit laus ista.

2<sup>nd</sup> 'Private' religion, as more difficult, more needy and more complex is less perfect. 1<sup>st</sup> More difficult. Christ's religion is 'an easy yoke': one reason why the new law is better than the old. 2<sup>nd</sup> More needy. A private religion requires Papal authorisation; Christ's religion is the authorisation of the Pope's life, if laudable.

Item, religio ista privata est magis difficilis, magis indigua et diffusa; igitur est minus perfecta. Consequencia patet ex testimonio Christi, Matth. XI<sup>to</sup>, comendantis 30 religionem suam ex hoc quod iugum suum suave est Matth. XI, 28 et onus suum leve. Ex hoc enim lex nova excedit in perfectione legem veterem; et patet de ratione, cum religio ista brevius et compendiosius attingit finem legis. Plenitudo autem legis est dileccio, quam plene et breviter 35 docet communis religio Christiana. Et quod religio privata plus indiget, patet ex hoc quod ad confirmationem eius requiritur auctorisacio papalis; ad legem autem Christi non sic; sed | oportet quod ipsa vitam papalem, A 40<sup>a</sup> si sit laudabilis, autoriset. Unde narrat Cestrensis, libro 40 7, capitulo 24, quomodo sub Innocencio III<sup>o</sup> ordines

5. que *deest* F. 7. necessaria E. 11. istam F. 20. in fine CD.  
26. suo F. 26, 27. cui laus ista non convenit BEF. 28. ideo E.  
30. tenet *pro* patet B; *ib.* V<sup>to</sup> ACD. 41. 24 *deest* CD; *ib.* capitulo  
*deest* EF; *ib.* 24 *deest* F.



- predicatorum et minorum ineeperant, et ad confirmandum eos ipse se reddebat difficilem; sed confirmacio eorum per Honorium III<sup>m</sup> immediate sequentem fiebat, ut notatur in eadem cronica; et taliter sunt alii ordines non prophani per Romanos episcopos confirmati. Et diffusio privati ordinis ex hoc patet, quod vix sufficit homo per vitam suam cerimonias et ritus eius plene cognoscere, et continue egent interpretacione et correccionem multiplici: quibus caret religio Christiana.
- 52<sup>e</sup> Item periciores privati ordinis sumptuose laborant et eligunt illo exui et militare sub religione simplici Christiana, quod non fieret nisi illa foret perfeccior: igitur conclusio. Argumentum patet de proveccioribus et sapiencioribus privati ordinis qui laborant ut statum episcopalem accipiant et per capellaniam papalem vel alia media obedienciam in qua consisteret maior ordinis sui perfeccio se exuant.
- Nec valet dicere quod in hoc errant, cum papa approbat et religio non inpuinat. Nam frater vel monachus nacto episcopo vivit perfeccius, quia aliter retrocederet in lege domini tanquam apostata: quod tam clerus quam laicus inopinabile reputaret.
- Sicut igitur episcopi gerunt vicem apostolorum, sic sunt in statu perfectissimo quem deus dignatus est in ecclesia sua statuere et papa supra episcopos qui dicitur gerere vicem Christi. Et constat quod status episcopalis vel est statui religionis private inpertinens vel repugnans. Nam omnes tradiciones adiecte supra legem Christi non regulariter tenetur episcopus observare; quia aliter omnes apostoli et omnes seculares episcopi ante istos ordines et post forent vel irregulares episcopi, vel saltem minus regulares quam nostri religiosi: quod est incredibile; non solum quia ecclesia plus approbat et canonisat priores episcopos, verum quia in privatis ordinibus non traduntur speciales regule episcopo pertinentes, sed apostolus in Thymotheo tradit 15 regulas plenius et perfeccius regulantes statum episcopi.
- Tria igitur sunt, que catholicus ut fidem debet credere: primum quod status episcopalis, quem Christus in apostolis suis instituit, est perfeccior quam status privati ordinis; quia plus ecclesie regulativus et anime

What difficulties the Dominicans and Franciscans were under before they could be authorised. 3<sup>rd</sup> More complex. A whole lifetime is hardly sufficient to learn all the observances.

Again. The best men of each Order strive to become Bishops, i. e. to leave it and join the simple religion of Christ, which is therefore better.

And they do so rightly; for what is approved by the Pope and not condemned by the Order cannot be held as wrong. Otherwise a Friar becoming a Bishop, he would be an apostate. The state of a Bishop is the most perfect of all. But if these observances were really a source of perfection, Bishops, not being obliged to observe them, would be inferior to Religious.

So Catholics must believe: 1<sup>st</sup> That a Bishop's state, instituted by Christ in His

8. dispensacione et EF. 12. foret EF; *ib.* esset EF. 13. assumptum EF. 15. per *deest* F. 17. exuant reputaret EF. 22. clero quam laico est E; *ib.* reputaret *deest* E; reputarem D. 25. sibi *pro* supra E. 38. debet ut fidem E.



apostles is the  
most perfect of  
all.

To deny this  
would be  
blasphemy.

2<sup>nd</sup> That though  
a Bishop may  
fall off from  
what he should  
be, his state  
remains the  
same.

3<sup>rd</sup> That neither  
the Superior  
could designate,  
nor the people  
could receive a  
Religious as  
their Bishop,  
unless they  
believed the  
latter state to  
be preferable.  
A man who  
becomes a  
Bishop for  
pleasure, pride  
or money, is a  
simoniac, and  
will infect the  
whole flock.

Conclusion: the  
faithful must  
confide in the  
Bishop of souls.

Answer to  
objections.  
1<sup>st</sup> Objection.  
A Religious  
observes  
Christ's law and  
adds thereto.  
Answer: The  
assumption is  
false.

lucratus. Nam nimis blasphemum foret, quod aliquis  
privatus ordo adinventus excederet primum ordinem  
quem Christus instituit, quia hoc foret implicare maiorem  
prudenciam in adinventionibus humanis quam in deo, et  
per consequens extollere antichristum super omne quod 5  
dicitur deus. Secundo credimus quod licet episcopus  
degenerat a statu primevo et confundit eius noticiam,  
tamen status ille manet in fide scripture invariabiliter  
perfectus succedente universali statu prelati in moribus.  
In cuius signum religiosus privati ordinis (factus epi- 10  
scopus), relinquit regulam privati ordinis, ut repugnans,  
et intendit regule apostoli, quam secundum quod per-  
ficit est laudabilis, patet ex dictis alibi de quiditate  
status. Tercio credimus quod nec superior constitueret O.  
nec populus acciperet religiosum privati ordinis in 15  
suum episcopum, nisi utrobique crederet et confiteretur  
statum quem accipit plus perfectum. Cum enim per-  
feccio status sit dispositiva ad beatitudinem anime  
aquirendam et status perfectior sit plus dispositivus,  
insanis foret omniquaque quolibet pars et caritati con- 20  
traria, si gratis permetteret religiosum apostotare a statu  
perfectiori ad statum episcopalem (minus) perfectum. Nam  
ecclesia debet cognoscere, quod religiosus possessionatus  
vel expropriarius appetens illum statum propter volup-  
tatem, fastum, vel questum seculi est symoniacus vene- 25  
nosus; et per consequens benedicendo confirmando vel  
ordinando quemquam in sua dyocesi venenose dampnificat  
se et plebem. Et idem est iudicium de | suffraganeis. B 53<sup>a</sup>  
Ideo, ut sepe dixi superius, oportet fideles contemptis  
apostatis servare legem dei et confidere in episcopo 30  
animarum.

Sed replicatur contra istud per hoc, quod religiosus  
privati ordinis | obligatur et servat quicquid Christianus A 41<sup>o</sup>  
de lege communi servaverit, et super hoc addit per-  
feccionem adinventam; igitur superaddit in perfeccioni 35  
religionis; et, ut dixi alias, ad hoc sunt leges ecclesie.  
Sed dicitur (ut sepe alias) quod falsum assumitur. Nam P.  
ut dicit Sapient. IX<sup>o</sup> deus disposuit omnia in mensura, Sap.  
numero et pondere. Quod expressit Augustinus (*De pro-* XI, 21

13. laudando E: laudandus F. 15. populum religiosum CE.  
18. dispositio B. 19. adquirendam E. 38. disponit. 39. Augustinus  
exponit E.

40. Aug. *De Trinitate* lib. XI, c. 11. Numerus, pondus, men-  
sura (p. 908, t. 42, ed. Migne).

prietatibus trinitatis), sic quod mensura, sicut religio, correspondeat deo patri. Cum igitur deus dedit regulam completam religionis in lege scripture, videtur quod omnis religiosus privati ordinis deficit in observancia illius mensure, ad quam Christianus religiosus vocatus secularis debet attendere. In ista igitur perfectione mensure excedunt omnes religiosos privati ordinis. Ideo videtur simile de istis et adiciente ad parietes domus perfectos de quadris lapidibus lutum et inordinatum acervum lapidum; quod licet adaugeat magnitudinem et numerum, sepe tamen monstruose facit fundamenta putrescere.

Secundo dubitatur utrum expedicius foret ecclesie non esse tales privatos ordines; et videtur quod sic, ex dictis evidenciis: cum sapiunt imperfectionem quam caruit primitiva ecclesia quando crevit. Sed contra istud instatur: primo per hoc, quod nedum sancti fundarunt hos ordines, sed ex illis creverunt multi gloriosi viri ad magnam edificacionem ecclesie. Sed supposita veritate B 53<sup>b</sup> du | bii, ad istud dicitur, quod evidencia non procedit; nam multi sancti comiserunt multas blasfemias, ymo A 41<sup>a</sup> sanctissimi citra Christum | continue peccaverunt, cum I. Jo. paranympus dicat (I<sup>a</sup> Joh. 1<sup>o</sup>): "Si dicimus quod peccata non habemus, nos ipsi seducimus et veritas in nobis non est". Ideo ut docet decretum (8 distincione, capitulo: *Si solus Christus audiendus est*), solus Christus capi debet inter homines pro exemplo in vita et opere, secundum hominem quem assumpsit vel secundum membra sua, in quibus ut in sanctis operatus est, et quos ad suam sententiam inspiravit.

Q. Ideo est pura fallacia, si sancti homines sic fecerunt et ordinarunt totam suam sectam sic perpetuo facere in futurum, igitur bene. Non enim est evidens Christum taliter ordinasse, vel membra sua movisse ad instituendum religionem huiusmodi, cum Christus ordinavit se ipsum indui nunc veste purpurea et nunc alba, (ut patet, Math. 27 et Luce 23): ymo quando misit discipulos ad predicandum (Luc. X<sup>o</sup>) prohibuit eis ferre duas tunicas, habere peram vel baculum vel calciamenta in pedibus, et tamen illud intelligi voluit non perpetuo sed solum

God made all things in measure. He gave a complete rule of religion in Scripture law. And every religious departs therefrom. That these observances add, is true; but it is like adding a heap of rubbish round the walls of a perfect building.

Second question. Would it not be better, if there were no such orders in the Church? There were none in the first times.

Objection. These Orders, founded by Saints, have produced many holy men.

Answer. The objection proves nothing; for many Saints have done wrong; and all have sinned. Christ alone ought to be taken as example to go by.

What a fallacy to say: The men who regulated their sect thus and thus were saints: therefore they did right! And when Christ forbade his disciples to take two coats, &c. it is understood that he meant only for a time, not for ever.

8. ad parietem domos E. 8. 9. perfectas D; *ib.* illicitam E. 11. monstruose E. 13. ordines *deest* D. 15. credit E. 17. religiosi E. 22. dixerimus E; diximus D. 24, 25. capitulo *deest* EF. 25. solus *deest* E. 28. instructis E. 29. inspirat E. 39. cum C; *ib.* pro perpetuo F.



And the  
Apostles' life  
proves this.  
Why must the  
commands of  
Benedict, v. g.  
be binding  
for ever, when  
those of Christ  
were not so?  
And had they  
been thus, it does  
not follow that  
these Fathers  
could imitate  
Him in that.  
St. Bartholo-  
mew made a  
hundred  
genuflexions in  
a day; and yet  
he never  
founded a sect  
that had to do  
likewise, under  
severe penalties.  
And it would  
be perilous to  
follow them,  
even though  
their sin were  
light and their  
merits great.

It was an act  
of blindness to  
amplify the rule  
of Augustine,  
which mentions  
neither colours,  
perpetual vows,  
nor prison.

Answer to  
Second part of  
the objection:  
'Many saints in  
those Orders.'  
*Granted*; but it  
proves nothing.

quando ab officio apostolico retardaret. Quod non solum testatur vita apostolorum, qui quando expediebat ritum istum dimiserant, sed et ordines fratrum laudabiliter illud hodie non observant. Quis igitur color si Benedictus Dominicus aut Franciscus sic statuit faciendum; 5 igitur non licet alicui de secta sua ad contrarium declinare, cum de Christo non sequitur? Nec sequitur, si Christus sic statuit ad sensum expositum, igitur licet | A 42<sup>a</sup> patribus predictis prudenter statuere | ut tota sua secta B 53<sup>a</sup> omnes ritus observet continue quos in se religiose in- 10 venerant. Bartholomeus enim legitur religiose in die cencies flexisse genua: et tamen non audebat statuere post se sectam perpetuam, que sub pena apostasie et tribulacionis severissime hoc observet. Quis igitur color: "si patroni ordinum sic statuerant, igitur bene"? 15 Sed sicut Silvester peccavit in recipiendo dotacionem ecclesie, et tamen postmodum penitens fuit factus, sic R. stat de patronis predictis. Ymmo licet omnes predicti meruerunt in isto peccando venialiter, tamen pericul- 20 osum et dampnabile est sequi vel approbare eos secundum rationem qua sic peccaverant. Non igitur est color concludere, quod illi prudenter vel inculpabiliter fecerunt, secundum rationem qua in sectis suis observanciam talem perpetuam rituum statuerunt.

Et gravatur cecitas in signa colentibus, quod ultra 25 hoc quod Augustinus patronus in communi statuerat illis qui gratis voluerunt servare regulam suam, quam- diu placuerit, gravantur alie particule et ramificantur in ecclesia ex sancta radice vitulamina viciata. Non enim lego in regula (beati) Augustini de professione perpetua, 30 de colore vel figura vestium vel de incarceratione; sed de apostate abiectione.

Quoad secundum obiectum, patet quod nichil antecedenti et conclusioni concessa. Nam, ex radice infecta primi Adam, virtute secundi Adam | multa sancta et A 42<sup>b</sup> gloriosa plantaria succreverunt; sicut et occasione 'felicitis culpe et necessarij peccati Adam', ut loquitur

5. Francus ABCD. 7. nec sequitur deest F. 10, 11. observave-  
rant B. 11. in die religiose B. 18. unde E. 21. peccaverunt B.  
27. grate E. 28. iam inficitur E. 29. in deest E; ib. ex infecta pro  
ex sancta E. 34. vel B. 38. beatus E.

37. The words '*O certe necessarium Adae peccatum*' . . . etc. are in the Sarum Office for Holy Saturday (*Benedictio cerei paschalis*); but I have not been able to trace them to St. Gregory.



- B 53<sup>a</sup> sanctus Gregorius, multa | ecclesie comoda accreuerunt; et tamen radix illa fuit valde culpabilis. Et sic inter privatos ordines possessionatorum et fratrum creverunt et sunt multi sancti clerici et solemnes, quo tamen non  
5 obstante regula ordinis sapit stulticiam et peccatum. In cuius signum est inter sectas (illas) contencio, et  
Act. concomitatur eas detrimentum ecclesie. Tales autem  
XXVI. apostolus vocat *sectas* (Actuum XXVI) et sic videtur scrip-  
Gal. turam loqui de sectis (II Reg. II); et ad Gal. V<sup>to</sup>. Sicut  
V, 20 igitur vitis suffertur a lignis infructuosos et rosa germinat  
S. 10 inter spinas, sic sancti et subtiles clerici germinant in  
secta minus laudabili. Sed omnes illi, ut reor, vel in  
hora mortis, vel ante, percipiunt quod secta est defec-  
tuosa et gravis, et non [nisi] ut faciliat ad legem  
15 domini observandam. Ideo licet et oportet ipsam dimit-  
tere, sicut licuit dimittere ritus quos Christus instituit.  
Nec oportet timere de multitudine et permanencia  
talis secte, quia tales affectiones private indicant amorem  
inordinatum hominis ad sua, postpositis bonis com-  
20 munibus legis dei. Quilibet enim Christianus affectaret  
per media licita quod, facta toto humano genere magis  
unicordi et simili, secta sua et quelibet alia privata  
A 42<sup>a</sup> foret sagaciter dissoluta; quia aliter deberet | reli-  
giosos in diversis sectis habere licite affectiones con-  
25 trarias et voluntati dei, quia sibi invicem repugnantes.  
T. Tercio arguitur per hoc, quod papa et alii prelati  
tales ordines perpetuo confirmarunt: vel igitur oportet  
B 54<sup>a</sup> ordinationes papales | dissolvere, vel omnes illas sectas  
fovere et defendere. Hic dicitur quod multi prelati sunt  
30 (in isto) patronis magis culpabiles, ut illi qui fovent  
symoniace sectas tales. Ideo dicitur, quod papa approbat  
totum quod est laudabile in sectis huiusmodi, et aliud  
contempnit; sicut, condicione tacita, confirmat illas pro  
perio, qua deus decreverit quod durabunt; multe  
35 autem suborte defecerant, et alie deficient pro termino  
noto deo; deus enim ordinavit illas secundum totum  
bonum in eis succedere, proficere et finire, sed modo  
civilis domini propter imperfectionem non intrant patriam,  
ymo cum una sit contraria alteri et deo atque ecclesie,  
41 oportet ipsas cessare; dicitur enim quamlibet istarum  
sectarum secundum multa supposita velle omnem reli-

For the root  
may be very  
bad and yet the  
offshoots holy  
and glorious: as  
in us, children  
of Adam.  
There have  
been and are  
many good men  
among them;  
and yet the rule  
of their Order  
is foolish and  
sinful.

The reason  
these sects have  
lasted so long  
is that human  
and private  
affections have  
been too strong;  
but every  
Christian  
should wish  
them to be  
abolished, that  
all men should  
become 'of one  
mind.'

3<sup>rd</sup> Objection.  
The Pope and  
other prelates  
have approved  
these orders  
for ever, so we  
have either to  
quash the  
Pope's decision  
or to be  
friendly to  
these sects.  
We may say  
that the Pope  
approves only  
what is praise-  
worthy in  
these orders,  
not the rest;  
and it that  
for ever means  
so long as God  
will allow them  
to exist.  
Another reason  
for their  
destruction is  
that they are  
contrary to each  
other, to God,

8, 9. scriptura B. 9. II *deest* F. 10, 11. et rosa — spinas *deest* F.  
17. multiplicacione CE. 18. mundificant B. 22. similiter A. 38. in-  
feccionem AB. 39. et sic *pro* et deo CDE. 41. sectarum *deest* EF.

and to the Church;  
 striving to draw  
 all goods to  
 themselves, and  
 doing harm to  
 the common-  
 wealth by their  
 wrangling.  
 The fact is that  
 they love their  
 own sect  
 inordinately;  
 which is proved  
 by the  
 disproportion  
 of their  
 punishments  
 when God's  
 commandments  
 or their rules  
 are broken.  
 This is sheer  
 idolatry.  
 I use the word  
*idolatry* since  
 to think more  
 of a man or of  
 his rule than of  
 God, is idolatry.  
 Third Question.  
 Whether vows  
 of perpetual  
 obedience are  
 expedient.  
 Negated:  
 same reasons as  
 above.  
 It is tempting  
 God; for the  
 Superior may  
 be a fool.  
 We have no  
 Scripture  
 warrant for  
 such obedience.  
 And it savours  
 of worldliness  
 since a  
 professed  
 religious is  
 more strictly  
 bound than a  
 lay vassal  
 besides  
 destroying  
 liberty.  
 But nothing is  
 better than  
 obedience to  
 God; and  
 "Obedience is  
 better than  
 sacrifice"  
 evidently refers  
 to this.

gionem esse de secta sua et omnia bona communia  
 religiosi dari singulariter secte sue; quod cum sit  
 contrarium voluntati divine et utilitati reipublice, patet  
 quam inseparabile est istis privatis ordinibus proprie-  
 tarie inordinate appetere, et ordinem suum ac regulam 5  
 inordinate diligere. Quis enim de tali secta multis  
 mandatis dei non plus ponderat regulas secte sue?  
 patet | ex punicionibus que emanant ex communi con- A 42<sup>d</sup>  
 sensu, quod pauci vel nulli a tali ydolatria sunt immunes.  
 Quomodo igitur non fieret sibi et matri nostre utilius, 10  
 quod intellectus et affectus, dimisso istorum onere,  
 occupati forent circa celestia vel circa media utiliora  
 et faciliora in lege Christi expressa? Talis igitur secta,  
 diffusa per ecclesiam, foret perfectior; et signanter  
 loquor de ydolatria, | quia qui ponderat hominem vel B 54<sup>h</sup>  
 ordinacionem suam plus quam deum, vel ordinacionem  
 suam ut sic, est ydolatra: in quo in privatis ordinibus  
 multi peccant, quia quandoque tradiciones humanas  
 nimis preponderant.

Sed tercio dubitatur, si expedit ecclesie tales parti- 20  
 culares obediencias fieri sub voto perpetuo privato  
 preposito. Et videtur quod non, ex rationibus factis  
 contra privatos ordines. Similiter stulticia et dei temp-  
 tacio videtur hominem obligare se ad obedienciam  
 cuiuscunque talis privati prepositi, sive discretus fuerit, 25  
 sive stultus. Similiter talis obediencia non est exemplata  
 in scriptura ad laudem prudencie. Cum igitur in scrip-  
 tura sit omnis veritas et specialiter Christiana religio,  
 videtur quod obediencia sit a clericis fugienda; sapit  
 enim civilitatem, cum professus devenit homo sui pre- 30  
 positi, eciam usque ad carcerem vel mortem striccius  
 quam vasallus obligatur domino seculari. Tollit eciam  
 libertatem | merendi, ut docet Augustinus in "*De que-* A 43<sup>a</sup>  
*stionibus veteris et nove legis*", capitulo 124<sup>to</sup>; et sepe  
 intricat obedienciarium cum stulto preposito. 35

Hic dixi, quod nichil est religiosius quam obediencia  
 facta deo, ut docet decretum 8 (questione 1, capitulo  
 Sciendum); ymo, ut dicit Samuel I. Reg. XV. "*Me-*  
*lior est obediencia quam victime, et quasi ariolandi est*

1. communiter CD; data communiter BE; bona data communiter F.  
 8. excommunicacionibus E. 19. ponderant F. 29. quod talis EF.  
 30, 31. devovens hoc suo preposito E. 34. capitulo 124<sup>to</sup> deest FF.  
 35. prepositi E. 38. quod Samuel dicit E. 39. victima BE.



*peccatum repugnare, et quasi scelus ydolatrie nolle acquiescere*". "Sola obediencia", inquit decretum, "est virtus que fidei possidet meritum, sine qua quilibet esse infidelis convincitur, eciam si fidelis esse videatur. "Victimis", inquit, "mactatur caro aliena, sed per obedienciam mactatur voluntas propria". Ubi patet | luce clarius quod loquitur de obediencia deo debita.

X. Et patet quantum blasfemant privati prepositi, qui ex scriptura vel lege ecclesie vendicant sibi istam obedienciam. Sicut enim baptisant religionem et ordinem, sic et obedienciam, et professionem, et alia quibus execant subditos. Saul enim in lege veteri et omnis fidelis sub pena dampnationis debet taliter obedire; sed procul hoc ab obediencia adinventum. Debet enim secundum religionem Christi quilibet fidelis obedire cuilibet; et melior debet esse obediencior, cum deus obedit creaturis, ut patet ex fide scripture (Josue X), et alibi diffuse prosequutus sum.

Et preter istam religiosam obedienciam est dare obedienciam privatam ex voto vel pacto, | qualiter uxor obedit marito et subiectus suo episcopo. Et ista obediencia nec valet nec est servanda, nisi de quanto preparat ad priorem obedienciam debitam legi dei. Ideo, ut diffuse exposui, virtute istius obediencie, tene-  
tur subditus in casu rebellare contra iniustum prepositum, ut virtute istius obediencie Paulus in facie restitit Petro, quia reprehensibilis erat, ut dicitur ad Gal. II. Et sic episcopi et omnis populus debet resistere Y. pape symoniaci vel prelato tali concorditer; cum obediencia debita deo sit infinitum potior, nec est servanda inferior obediencia, nisi de quanto instrumentatur per illam ad destruendum vicia et virtutum plantaria inserendum. Quod si prelatus preficitur secundum leges regis superbie ut fratres suos excellat imperio et ut prospere ac voluptuose vivat in seculo; tunc, secundum predictam legem beati Gregorii, obediencia talis, si aliquid concupiscencie de suo habuerit, nulla est, eciam si prospera subiecto preceperit; quia non valet nisi de quanto fit deo ad perficiendum quod ipse precipit.

It is blasphemy for a man to claim such obedience.

Religious obedience is only due to God; private obedience, due to man, ought to obtain only so far forth as it is an auxiliary to the first. There are cases when, like Paul, the subject ought to 'resist' his superior. For instance, in the case of a simoniacal Pope or Bishop.

Obedience in such a case is without merit, even if the command is for the good of the subject.

For the will of God ought to be first considered.

2. veritas. 9. ex lege E; *ib.* usurpant seu vend. B. 17. obedivit E;  
*ib.* creature E. 27. ut dicitur ad *deest* EF. 31. inferiori E.  
31, 32. ministratur D. 34. et *pro* ut F. 38. et *pro* eciam E.  
39. sit BDE. 40. ad quod ipse precepit perficiendum B.

Et patet quod religione secundum tradiciones hominum declinante ad seculum, periculosum et stultum est religiosum cuicumque preposito, qui successerit pro suo perpetuo obligari. Nam vir ex voto non copulatur uxori simplici, nisi contractus in suo inicio fuerit con- 5  
 sonus legi dei: igitur multo magis non obligaret se sic  
 cece et infundabiliter multis uxoribus. Et multo evi-  
 dencius | prudencia serpentina horreret religiosum obli- A 43<sup>e</sup>  
 gari sic stulto preposito, quod faciat quicquid ipse  
 mandaverit; quod posset bene fieri, quia sic solveretur 10  
 religio ex eleccione stulta et culpabili minus boni;  
 quia, prelato ignaro precipiente quod religiosus sub-  
 iectus cognoscit sibi obesse vel quo ad deum in ratione  
 meriti minus proficere, subditus dicitur postponere  
 melius quod deus precipit. 15

Et ultra blasfeme garritur, quod virtute sompniate  
 obediencie sit melius subito quicquid prelatus pre-  
 ceperit. Et tunc indubie est inpeccabilis sicut deus,  
 quia facillime peccare poterit in ducatu huiusmodi  
 gregis sui. Ideo cecantur multi de melioracione me- 20  
 riti ex mandato prepositi vel ex voto; nam si secu-  
 laris ex tanto fervore caritatis meruerit, ad quod est  
 sepe extra religionem inventam disposicio, tam lauda-  
 biliter vivit et securus extra talem ordinem sicut intra.  
 Patet ex gestis apostolorum et lege dei, que istam 25  
 cautelam subiciunt, nec obest quod | talis observancia B 55<sup>a</sup>  
 quandoque prodest per accidens cum deus aliter non  
 sineret ipsam esse.

As a husband cannot be joined to one wife, unless the contract is according to God's law; and much less to many wives: so the religious cannot be bound to obey whatever a superior may order him. An ignorant superior commands what is not good for his inferior, and the latter has to believe that by obedience it becomes good, because commanded. If so, the superior needs the infallibility of God.

That obedience sometimes happens to render good service is no objection.

2. declinantes E. 3. successerit taliter BE. 4. non copulatur *deest* E. 6. dei *deest* D; *ib.* ergo E. 10. potest E. 11. culpabiliter B. 12. ingrato E. 16. et tunc B. 17. subiecto E. 18. peccabilis CD. 22. ex toto E. 23. dispositus E; disposicionem B. 24. infra EF. 26. subticuit C; substituit EF.



## CAPITULUM SECUNDUM.

### De Symonia Religiosorum.

Restat videre ulterius si in religione expropriaria possunt esse symoniaci, sive apostate. Nec dubium quin illud contingit crebrius, licet apostasia sit mundo abscondita; oportet enim primum apostatam cum bono religionis apostasiam absconditam subtilius commiscere, cum scola sua crescit continue in subtilitate malicie.

Suppono autem quod loquamur de religione et apostasia conformiter legi dei; ut dicunt habitus tales simpliciter quo ad deum. Alia autem sunt nominetenus talia et non simpliciter, cum variantur secundum humana iudicia, et multiplicantur secundum hominum fantasias. Secundo suppono quod apostasia comittitur, quandocumque quis in mortali peccato ceciderit; quia semper tunc dirumpens religionem domini retrocedit; et hoc sonat apostasiam, ut dicunt gramatica et decretum 26, questione ultima, capitulo "*Non observetis.*" Quamvis autem omnis apostasia sit gravis in homine, tamen apostasia in religiosis et specialiter in expropriarie viventibus est deo et ecclesie magis odibilis, quia ubi votum strictitudinis vite est deo solemnius et mundo patencius apostatatur gravius.

Et istis duobus suppositis intendo procedere, non secundum vaticinium Hildegardis vel fabulas, sed secundum fidem scripture et secundum possibilitatem late vie apostasis. Et sic neminem accusabo, sed dicam

Can there be simoniacs and apostates in a 'religion' in which possession is not allowed? There can be, and there are, but in a hidden manner. Before proving this, the author notes: First, that he is speaking of apostasy according to the meaning given to the word in God's law, not in man's. And, second, that every mortal sin, being a backsliding, is an apostasy.

How he intends to proceed. 1<sup>st</sup> According to Scripture;

1. De symonia religiosorum *deest* ABDEF. 5. apostasiam E.  
8, 9. apostata F. 14. peccato *deest* F. 16. gramatici B. 17. capitulo *deest* F. 21. striccius E. 24. Eldegaris ACD; Hildegaris F.  
26. sic *deest* E.

24. St. Hildegard (1098—1179) abbess of St. Rupert, near Bingen. For life and works, see the whole of t. 197 of Migne's edition of the Fathers. Her correspondence (145 letters) illustrates the state of the Church at the time. The Lollards often quoted her. See Matthew, W.'s E. W. pp. 11, 492. Buddensieg, W.'s Pol. Works, vol. I, p. 67; Trialogus p. 338. — She also wrote three books of visions, an account of ten other visions, and a curious work on Natural Science.

2<sup>nd</sup> Conditionally, accusing no one, but pointing out the characteristics of an apostate; following the seven points laid down by Solomon, and quoted at the beginning of this work.

I. Homo apostata, vir inutilis.

1<sup>st</sup> Frailty of man denoted; homo apostata — backslider.

2<sup>nd</sup> First degree: uselessness.

The first sin of apostasy is a sin of omission; for one cannot do wrong without omitting to do right. This is the 'foot of pride' of the Psalmist, and the 'beginning of pride' of Ecclesiasticus. And this omission is signified by the word *inutilis*.

The order of Friars was instituted to make up for the defects of Prelates, and to revive the life of apostles. That is their first duty.

If deficient in that, no matter what else they do, they are simoniacs and apostates.

The devil does his utmost to discourage; and therefore Christ gave for our encouragement the parable of the talents.

modos quibus contingit apostatare et annectam conditionem: si frater sic graditur, tunc est in lata via | B 55<sup>b</sup> apostate; ut conscii per dei gratiam resipiscant.

Potest autem totum genus apostasie fratrum reduci Prov. VI, ad septenarium quem Salomon recitat Prov. 6<sup>to</sup>, et 12—14 recitatur in principio huius: *homo*, | inquit, *apostata, vir* A 44<sup>a</sup> *inutilis*, ubi primo notatur terrena fragilitas retrocedens, dum dicitur: homo apostata; et secundo adiungitur primus gradus apostasie, dum dicitur: vir inutilis; et tercio coniungitur unio fortitudinis malicie, dum vocatur vir. 10 Sicut enim tota ecclesia est unus homo et persona Prov. XXXI, muliebris fortis, ut patet Prov. 31, sic tota multitudo XXXI, apostatarum est una persona virilis, contra naturam uxor 10—31 dyaboli et ex fragilitate terre faciliter in preceps graditur.

Primum igitur peccatum apostasie est peccatum ob- 15 missionis, cum impossibile sit hominem peccatum committere, nisi prius omittendo peccaverit, ut suppono Psalm. ex declaratis alibi. Ideo vocatur in psalmo 35, "Pes XXXV, superbie." "Non veniat michi, inquit, pes superbie, et 12 manus peccatoris non moveat me." Pro illo adduci 20 potest illud Ecclesiastici "Inicium superbie hominis apostotare a deo." Ista autem omissio exprimitur per hoc Eccclus. X, 14 quod apostata est persona inutilis. Constat quidem B. quod totus ordo fratrum subintroducitur in ecclesiam ut suppleat defectus prelatorum et evagantium 25 clericorum et per consequens ut vitam apostolorum resuscitet in vita et opere. Quod si fuerit in officio isto inutilis, quis dampnabilius apostotat omittendo, dico, ewangelizare et veritates ewangelicas verbo et opere declarare, et usque ad mortem, si oportet, de- 30 fendere. Hoc igitur est primum fratrum officium, quo omisso | sequitur totum residuum esse inutile, quia B 55<sup>e</sup> quicquid oraverint vel ministraverint, ex crimine symonie et apostasie nocet ecclesie. Symonia dico, quia apostolicam dignitatem vendunt pro lucro tempo- 35 rali abiecto pro quo vecorditer ita tacent. Unde quia dyaboli est primo detertere milites Christi inducendo Math. vecordiam, ideo Christus Math. X<sup>o</sup> animavit eos ex XXV, similitudine sui et augmento meriti ac ex pena servata 14 servo inutili ad fiducialiter predicandum. 40

3. celerius resipiscant EF. 8. dicit E. 9. vir *deest* EF. 10. connectitur E; annectitur B. 16. hominem *deest* E. 18. oratur E. 19. "Non—pes *deest* F. 21. Eccles. ABD; *ib.* hominis *deest* E. 22. per hoc *deest* E. 24. est *deest* C. 25. suppletur B. 28. omittendo omittendo CF. 38. M<sup>o</sup> 10, et alibi BF; *ib.* et alibi generaliter *pro* animavit E.



- Et revera fides modica ut granum synapis torpentes resolveret in lacrimas pro omissis, et ad virilem satisfactionem genua debilia roboraret; infidelitas enim evitat servum taliter ociantem. Si igitur vocatus es in domum domini ad ewangelizandum, fac ad quid venisti. Quia ut ait Crisostomus operis imperfecti: "Prudens pater familias non contentatur, quod servus vivat et comedat in domo ecclesie"; sed, ut ait Gregorius: "Servum a bono opere torpentem dampnat." Si enim dampnabit in die iudicii etiam activos pro omissione operum misericordie corporalis, ut patet Math. XXV<sup>to</sup>, quomodo credimus non agravabit penam in contemplativos, quibus ad hoc talenta comiserat, dum ociantur in pecunia accepta domini, cum sciunt, quod deus infinitum plus appreciatur VII  
 A 44<sup>e</sup> opera misericordie spiritualis quam opera | misericordie corporalis? "Messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci."  
 Et tercio moveret quod omnes tales ex vecordia omittentes istud officium sunt proditores veritatis magis  
 B 55<sup>a</sup> quam Scarioth; ut docet | Crisostomus omelia 45<sup>ta</sup>  
 20 operis imperfecti; et ponitur in decretis XI, questione 3:  
*Non licet.* "Scarioth quidem abscondite prodidit veritatem nondum glorificatam post pauca carismata, isti autem patenter produnt veritatem ad multorum perditionem; et hoc post eius glorificationem, post ewangelii publicationem et tot carismatum et exemplorum salutarium acceptionem." Ideo cum omnes et singuli faciunt unam prodicionem, verisimile est quod ingratitudo culpe sit gravior. Recolerent, inquam, quomodo dicunt et iactant se similia sequi Christum, et quomodo Christus ad hoc natus est, et venit in mundum  
 30 modo Christus ad hoc natus est, et venit in mundum  
 Joh. XVIII, ut testimonium perhibeat veritati, Joh. XVIII, et tunc  
 37 possunt considerare quantum apostatando post dominum falsitatis degenerant. Si enim attornatus vel procurator terreni negotii sit negligens in negotio post acceptam  
 35 mercedem, dominus eius iuste debet ipsum ut infidelem diffidere, et ut servum inutilem contempnere; quanto

If they are called by God, let them do that which they are called to do.

If Christ will condemn for the omission of works of corporal mercy, what will he do to those who omitted the deeds of spiritual mercy, much more desired by Him?

To omit these duties is to be a worse traitor than Judas.

He betrayed Truth, but not yet glorified Truth: these betray it after its glorification.

They say they follow Christ; Christ came into this world only to bear witness to truth. Have they not degenerated? If an attorney is negligent, his earthly lord spurns him.

1. torpens B. 2. et *deest* E. 3. roboraret *deest* D. 3. 4. itaque evirat F. 4. evirat E. 6. dicit F; *ib.* omelia operis EF; *ib.* Prudens E. 12. credibilis *alia manu* B. 14. dum E. 19. 49 EF. 21. absolute ACD. 28. culpe eorum F. 36. nequam EF.

6. The author referred to is not Chrysostom, but, as Baronius and Tillemont believe, an Arian posterior to Theodosius. See Migne, Patr. series Greca, t. 56, p. 601. 8. St. Greg. Lib. I. Hom. in Ev. N° 9 (p. 1106, t. 76 of Migne). 21. Quotation not to be found there, nor anywhere near.

How much  
more the Lord  
of glory, in so  
much greater a  
cause, with a  
reward so much  
more abundant,  
and a so much  
stricter

obligation!

*First excuse:*

Time, place,  
example, &c.

All bad.

The time to

work is *now*.

And John the  
Baptist and so  
many martyrs  
have bled in  
the cause of  
Christ.

No excuse is  
possible for a  
Christian before  
the Judge.

*Second excuse:*

They say that  
no more  
remains to do;  
but the life of  
Christ tells us  
that even our  
priests are far  
from what they  
should be.

Bad priests ruin  
the people; and  
therefore

Christ was  
always against  
them.

They are all  
worldly, from  
first to last,  
idolatrours  
soldiers of the  
Devil.

They live as if  
faith, hope and  
charity were  
dying out.

*Second excuse:*

Nothing should  
be said against  
Bishops.

magis rex celorum, qui dignatus est nos vocare adiu-  
tores in causa sua, post negligenciam proditoriam  
condempnabit, et eo | severius quo causa est ponde- A 44  
rancior, quo merces preaccepta est copiosior et quo  
obligacio est stricciior atque utilior. 5

Nec capit remissionem excusacio de oportunitate C.  
loci et temporis, de assistencia instrumenti sive iuva-  
minis et de exemplacione precedenti contra pompam  
hostis imbecillis. Ecce, inquam, nunc tempus accep-  
tabile, in quo princeps mundi huius cum milicia sua 10  
arma ubique terrarum diffuderat, et rex regum pro-  
misit ecclesie, quod sibi assisteret omnibus | diebus, B 56\*  
usque ad consumacionem seculi. Ac tercio in ista  
causa decertarunt baptista et cuncti martires, scientes  
quod super omnia vincit veritas. Quomodocunque itaque  
palliaverit Christianus, negligencia vel ocium non ex- 35—40  
cusat eum aput iudicem scrutantem corda et renes in  
finali iudicio; sed adhuc ex comentis dyaboli ostenditur  
maior excusacio in peccatis.

Dicitur enim quod tota communitas servat fidem, et 20  
non restat hostis ecclesie, quem fidelis impeteret. Sed  
legamus vitam Christi et apostolorum, et videamus quantum  
ab ipsa eciam sacerdotes nostri degenerant; et tunc habemus  
ad similitudinem Christi exemplum contra prin-  
cipes sacerdotum invehere. Nam iuxta testimonium 25  
beati Gregorii causa ruine populi sunt sacerdotes mali.  
Et hec racio, quare Christus contra illos institit in-  
portune. Revera a maximo usque ad minimum omnes  
infideliter sunt mundo dediti; et sic | ubique terrarum A 45\*  
sparguntur ydolatre milites principis mundi huius. Sic 30  
quod fides, spes et caritas extinguuntur; nam in re  
dicunt hodie, quod sicut tempus exigit variacionem  
ad contrarium in vita presbiteri, sic oportet fidem,  
spem, et caritatem variari a virtutibus prioribus quasi  
contrarie. Fratres autem considerarent statum profes- 35  
sionis sue, et inveherent efficaciter contra ista comenta  
dyaboli. Secunda excusacio est, quod episcopalis dig-  
nitas eximit et tradiciones humane sentenciant, quod  
non dicatur aliquid contra tales. Sed istam blasfemiam  
debent fratres destruere. Non enim est lex, sed blasfemia 40

3. seivius B. 4. tepidior ACD. 7. ministerii B; ministri F. 8. pre-  
cepti E. 15. Ezdre 2°. Quomodocunque ita E. 17. revere E. 22. fidem E;  
ib. et videamus *deest* ACD. 25. doctrinam B. 26. beati *deest* BEF.  
30. principes huius mundi E. 32. homines *pro* hodie EF. 36. tor-  
menta E. 40. est *deest* AB.



contra deum. Ipse autem reprehendit severe principes sacerdotum et Scarioth; et irreligiosa dotacio non facit dignitatem pontificum nostrorum plus inclitam, sed accusans potius magis fedat.

Christ blamed the High Priests. And an impious endowment pollutes the episcopal dignity.

B 56<sup>b</sup> Inveteratur itaque | irreligiosa sacerdotum malicia; sic quod ex vi consuetudinis inficit magnam ecclesiam. Nec videtur quomodo secure sanaretur ista infirmitas, nisi subtrahendo secundum formam quam Christus instituit causam morbi. Fratres autem, licet  
10 ex professione et ordine coguntur illud concedere, tamen querentes multiplex subterfugium vecorditer retrocedunt. Fatentur enim, quod status eorum, quia expropriarius, est perfectior et vite Christi similior, in tantum quod quotquot etiam de prelati possessionatis  
A 45<sup>b</sup> fuerint fratres profitentur quod viverent | perfectius, habendo moderate et expropriarie omnia in communi. Et tamen, sibi ipsis contrarii, vel odiunt vel tacent quod perfectius foret totum clerum vivere expropriarie, sicut Christus instituit atque vixit.

The Friars, obliged to grant this, seek subterfuges, and backslide. They grant that their own life is more like Christ's as being without possessions.

D. Tercia excusacio est turpior, quod si fratres exasperarent contra possessionatos defendentes predictam sententiam, tunc prelati insurgerent contra illos, et privarentur elemosinis populi; et sic dissolveretur sua religio. Ideo fertur, quod in communibus eorum conciliis diffinitur vel quod non predicent aut foveant predictam sententiam, vel quod invehant tacite contra illam. In hoc enim ebullit eorum apostasia ydolatra, quia non propter timorem pene corporis, sed propter avariciam temporalium apostatant contra Christum.  
30 Nonne ex fide scripture laudatur Hebreorum laycalis religio, quia rapinam bonorum suorum cum gaudio receperunt. Ad Hebr. X. Nonne talis avarus ex testimonio apostoli ad Colocens. III<sup>o</sup> est dampnandus ydolatra, quia stercora temporalium tanquam deum suum  
35 veritati preponderat? Nonne pharisei uno consensu ex hinc conspiraverant contra catholicam veritatem?

And yet they hate the idea of the whole clergy living so.

Third excuse: If the Friars exasperate the possessioners, their order will be starved out. It is said that in their councils they have decided not to preach this opinion, or to oppose it. It is for temporal greed that they act against their convictions; such greed is damnable idolatry; the very motive that made the Pharisees conspire against Christ.

Non igitur posset se inhabilitare patencius ad quas-  
B 56<sup>c</sup> cunque | elemosinas corporales vel defensionem vite, cum dicunt, ut sic, tanquam infideles apostate, quod

Nothing could render them more unworthy of getting any alms.

2. religiosa E. 4. excusans B. 10. cognoscuntur E. 11, 12. recedunt E. 15. fiunt E. 17. cum C. 21. contra predictam E. 24. nam pro ideo EF; ib. quibus pro communibus B. 24, 25. consiliis. 26. tante E. 27. autem pro enim E. 32. susceperunt EF. 32, 33. vel anser secundum testimonium E; ib. Augustus secundum testimonium F. 35. preponderant E. 36. conspiraverant infideliter BE. 39. sint; alia manu sic B.

As for the existence of the Order, they should, according to Scripture, let the whole world perish, rather than consent to a falsehood.

Traditions or professions bidding the concealment of Gospel truth have no weight. They should prefer the destruction of their Order, to being silent on the truth.

II. *Graditur ore perverso.*  
This denotes the sins of the tongue.

Three sorts of sins to be noted here: lying, flattery, and evil-speaking.  
1<sup>st</sup> Lying.  
Whoso follows the Father of lies is an apostate.  
Lying in jest or to render service is said to be frequent among the Friars.  
Common saying: This is affirmed by a friar: therefore it is false.

favor infidelium et lucrum populi est prestancior | quam A 45<sup>e</sup>  
salus hominum vel veritas legis dei. Et quantum ad ordinis continuacionem, patet ex fide scripture et testimonio sanctorum doctorum, quod cicius permitterent totum mundum dissolvi, quod est plus quam 5 omnes religiones private, antequam consentirent huius modi falsitati.

Ideo religiosi et subtiliores de fratribus cognoscentes istam perfidiam defendunt et detegunt tales veritates catholicas, dicentes de apostatis ipsis contrariis illud 10 psalmi II<sup>i</sup> "*Dirumpamus vincula eorum et proiciamus a nobis iugum ipsorum*". Non enim valent tradiciones vel professiones istorum ordinum que movent quod veritas ewangelica sit celata; prius igitur optarent dissolutionem sui ordinis perpetuo, sicut fuit tempore 15 prosperitatis ecclesie, antequam minimam veritatem fidei reticerent. Hec igitur est cautela dyaboli sollemnizare sic privatos ordines et adinvenciones hominum, ut dilgantur et defendantur attentius quam lex dei. Ista igitur infidelis omissio est prima apostasia quam 20 concipio contra fratres.

Secunda vero apostasia describitur per hoc quod E. vir apostata *graditur ore perverso*; in quo notatur viciium lingwe primum inter omnia sensibilia peccata commissionis apostatis istis competere. Sicut enim primo 25 et precipue convenit apostolis inter actus sensibiles honorare deum in lingua ad | edificacionem ecclesie, A 45<sup>d</sup> sic primo apostotatur in viciis istis contrariis. Quamvis autem secundum Parisiensem sint in lingua 14 viciorum genera, sufficit tamen notare tria | genera pro B 56<sup>d</sup> presenti, scilicet mendacium, adulacionem et detraccionem.

Mendacium autem committunt multi apostate; et per consequens sequendo patrem mendacii apostotant a domino veritatis; quia, ut diffuse declarat Augustinus, 35 inter VIII genera mendacii mendacium iocosum et officiosum, que sunt levissima, sunt in viris qui debent esse perfecti ut fratres mortalia peccata. Et tamen dicitur quod inter fratres crebrescit hoc peccatum; in tantum quod arguitur tanquam argumento probabili: 40

3. ordinacionem E. 14. collata D; *ib.* ergo E. 17. recipere B.  
20. prima et gravissima C; *ib.* gravissima apostasia EF. 28. si E.  
29, 30. 24 genera viciorum EF. 37. sunt *deest* E. 38. cum E.  
39. Vitium F. 40. arguitur *deest* E.



"Frater, vel scribendo vel eloquendo, auctorizat istam sententiam; igitur falsum"; et sic ille qui debet ponere ori suo custodiam post iniunctum silentium contra sententiam Jacobi apostoli, in loquacitate magis effrenis elabitur. Et ubi alii mendaces ex residencia paucos inficiunt, talis apostata, vagando per patrias, seminat spissim mendacia.

So the Friar is a babbler; and a most hurtful one, because he goes about sowing lies.

Ideo dicit signanter sapiens, quod graditur ore perverso, perverso, dico, a loquela Christi virtuosa atque veridica ad fabulas mundi viciosas atque falsidecas. Recoleremus, inquam, quod verba sacerdotis qui debet

Note the word *perverso*; turned away from Christ's teaching.

I. Petr. IV, 11 esse os domini sint ut ewangelium Christi iuxta preceptum Christi in Petro 1<sup>a</sup> Petr. 4<sup>to</sup> "*Si quis loquitur*," A 45<sup>a</sup> libret | loquelam sic veritate sagaci quod proferat 15 "*quasi sermones dei*." Et sic omne genus peccati, cum sit contra filium potest dici mendacium.

De adulacione vero licet sit omnimodo deo odibilis, tamen adulacio in predicationibus est magis odibilis.

2<sup>nd</sup> Flattery. — 1<sup>st</sup> General principles.

Cum enim homo per predicationem generabit principi spirituales filios, patet quod duplicitate sermonis adulatorie generabit filios adulteros dyaboli. Et hinc dicit apostolus II<sup>a</sup> Cor. II<sup>o</sup>; "*Non*" inquit, "*sumus sicut plurimi, adulterantes verbum dei; sed ex sinceritate, sicut ex deo, coram deo, in Christo loquimur*." Ille autem

Abominable to God everywhere, flattery is still worse in the mouth of a preacher. He ought to beget spiritual children; he begets adulterous children of the Devil.

B 57<sup>a</sup> adulteratur verbum domini, qui populo detrahente | a Christi servicio ipsum induit; cum tale semen adulterinos filios procreabit. Ille autem ex sinceritate loquitur predicando, qui non propter questum, vel privatum commodum, sed pure propter honorem dei et edificacionem proximi in persona Christi loquitur. Talis autem vitabit fabulas et quicquid est isti fini inperitens; et per consequens tenebit veritatem non quamcunque sed edificativam de deo, et tanquam cognoscens

He adulterates the Word of God, who uses it to turn the people away from Christ's service.

F. deum cui servit cuncta prospicere, ut dicit apostolus; "*loquitur coram deo*," et propter verba quinque, scilicet verbum fidei, verbum virtutum amplectendum, verbum viciorum fugiendum, propter aquirendum terminum vie virtutum, scilicet beatitudinem quam speramus, et propter fugiendum terminum viciorum,

And he speaks sincerely, who speaks only for God's glory, not for gain. Such a one will speak five sorts of words. Words of faith in favour of virtue, contrary to vice, leading the soul to Heaven and warning it away from Hell.

A 46<sup>b</sup> scilicet dampnacionem perpetuam quam | odimus. Dicit

2. si EF. 3. stricciorem custodiam EF. 12. Christi *deest* F.  
13. in Petro *deest* E. 18. predicatoribus E. 20, 21. petet quod —  
generabit *deest* C. 21. filios *deest* ABC. 24. in proximo *pro* in  
Christo CD. 35. quinque *deest* E. 36. virtutum *pro* verbum vir-  
tutum F. 39. crimen *pro* terminum E.

The Apostle prefers five intelligible words to ten thousand in an unknown tongue.

apostolus 1<sup>a</sup> Cor. XIV. "In ecclesia volo quinque verba sensu meo loqui, ut et alios instruam, quam decem milia verborum lingua." Hec autem quinque verba secundum cooperationem sensus limitat nobis apostolus, ne evagemur in verbis floridis et diffusis, que questum 5 vel fastum sapiunt, sicut faciunt qui se ipsos predicant et non Christum.

I. Cor. XIV, 19

The apostle's prophecy about evil days to come, doctrines of devils, men speaking lies in hypocrisy, &c.

Unde apostolus videns tales futuros in ecclesia 1<sup>a</sup> Tim. IV sic loquitur: "Spiritus" inquit, "manifeste dicit quod in novissimis temporibus discedent quidam a fide, attendentes spiritibus erroris et doctrinis demoniorum, in ypocrisi loquendum mendacium, et cauteri-

I. Tim. IV, 1, 2

2<sup>nd</sup> Application of preceding principles and texts to the Friars.

Their love of human traditions, of fables, whereby both they and their hearers depart from the faith. 'Spiritus' means those who live spiritually; i. e. the religious or the clergy; who become spirits of error, when they sow false doctrine

atam habencium conscienciam." Illi autem discedunt a fide, qui dimisso ewangelio preponderant tradiciones hominum, sicut faciunt hodie illi, qui "coacervant sibi 15 magistros prurientes auribus, a veritate avertunt auditum et ad fabulas convertuntur," ut loquitur apostolus II<sup>a</sup> Thim. IV<sup>o</sup> et sic discedunt a fide tam ewangelisantes quam ewangelisandi, et utrique dupliciter: vel preponderantes | tradiciones hominum, vel fabulas extra B 57<sup>o</sup> fidem scripture. Per spiritus erroris, intelliguntur illi, qui spiritualiter vivunt, ut religiosi et clerici. Illi enim vocantur spiritus: Luc. IX<sup>o</sup>: "Nescitis cuius spiritus estis," dicit Jesus suis apostolis; et tunc sunt spiritus erroris, quando seminant doctrinam extraneam adin- ventam, ad quam attendunt layci | ut ewangelium. Et A 46<sup>o</sup> superiores istorum vocantur demonia in ypocrisi loquencia. Demonia sunt, quia spiritus iuxta dicta; et mali indubie: et sic demonia.

I. Tim. IV, 3

According to Grosseteste, a monk that leaves his cloister is a dead body wrapped in funeral bands, and leaving its sepulchre, moved by the Devil.

Unde Linconiensis dicit, quod religiosus de clauastro 30 egressus, et specialiter de clauastro anime, est cadaver mortuum, pannis funebribus involutum, de sepulchro egressum, a dyabolo inter homines agitatum. "Cadaver," inquit, "mortuum, quia corpus quod mendaciter profitetur se mortuum quo ad mundum et sic ex carencia 35 spiritus vivificantis est fetens mortuum quo ad deum; et de sepulchro egreditur, quando sic exit de clauastro in quo debuit sepeliri." Et hos dicit apostolum prophetare. II<sup>a</sup> ad Thim. III, cum dicit quod penetrant

II. Tim. III, 6

1. duo E. 5. verbis *deest* F. 9. alloquitur E; aloquitur B.  
11. a fide *deest* E. 13. suam conscienciam BEF. 15. illi homines BEF.  
19. uterque ABE; *ib.* tripliciter EF. 21. errorum C. 22. spiritualiter C.  
25. errorum CE. 34, 35. quia corpus — mortuum *deest* EF. 35. sed  
*pro* se D. 38. dicitur E; *ib.* apostolus E. 39. dicens BEF.



- domos et captivas ducunt mulierculas. Panni autem religiosi dicuntur ex qualitate indumenta funebria. "Nec dubium," inquit doctor "quin, si talis sit a dyabolo valde fugibiliter et horride inter homines agitatus, non solum a persona Luciferi, sed a papa vel capitaneo talis secte"; talis enim propter sensibilem eius patientiam vocatur psalmo XC: *Demonium meridianum*, cuius doctrina est loqui in ypocrisi quia, simulando sanctitatem loquitur mendacium, dum falsitatem loquitur: 10 que est scola patris mendacii.
- G. Sed si quis remurmurat contra hunc sensum, dico primo quod oportet prophetiam apostoli ut fidem credere, cum profiteatur quod "spiritus manifeste dicit." B 57<sup>a</sup>  
A 46<sup>a</sup> Secundo dico | cum apostolus dicat | tales futuros 15 in tempore periculoso et in Thimoteo docet ecclesiam huiusmodi devitare, fidelis et specialiter Theologus daret operam ad habendum sensum spiritus in dicta prophetia apostoli. Et tercio, dico quod sive papa sive fratres sive seculares perfecerint excellencius prophetatam sententiam; illi sunt quos describit apostolus devitandos.
- Ideo, quicunque volueris eximi a dicta secta, cave a condicionibus quas describit apostolus, quia perficiendo predictas condiciones pestiferas, tu es ille refuga quem 25 spiritus sanctus predicit ecclesie fugiendum.
- Tercia vero species peccati lingwe, quod est proprium dictis apostaticis, est serpentina detraccio. Ipsi enim more Luciferi delectantur mordere membra Christi mendacio, non quocunque, sed quod sonat denigracionem 30 status persone quam mordent; et ut coloracius fingant facinus venenosum, dicunt quod sic audierant: et sic hoc referunt ut auditum, non propter caritatem quam habent ad personam quam mordent sed ut facinus quod concipiunt in persona quam odiunt amplius 35 dilatetur. Esto, inquam, quod talis apostota vel alius audivit a se ipso hoc venenum pestiferum; adhuc examinaret fructum loquele et intencionem loquendi, antequam in talia verba superflua ebulliret. Hec igitur A 47<sup>a</sup> condicio tortuosi serpentis est a cunctis Christianis | et 40 specialiter expropriariis et qui astringuntur silencio

And he is moved by the devil, in person, as represented by the Pope and the heads of the order. He is a 'noonday devil' simulating sanctity and telling falsehoods. This prophecy of the Apostle must be believed by all Christians.

So all Christians should understand the sense of these words, to avoid those who are thus noted.

But take care that you are not among them, yourself, if you fulfil the conditions.

3rd Evil speaking. Evil speakers delight in biting the members of Christ. They say that they have heard this or that.

But supposing that they had heard it, they ought to examine well whether the repetition of it would be of any utility.

3. doctor *deest* E. 4. agitatus ACD. 10. extollencius C; excellerint F. 24. illas EF. 29. quomodocumque E; *ib.* dignitatem EF. 32. referant BE. 35. enim *pro* inquam B.

Especially if they are of an Order bound to silence.

St. Augustine's motto, inscribed in his dining-room against evil-speakers.

fugienda, quia Eccles. X<sup>o</sup> scribitur: "Si mordeat serpens in silencio, nichil eo minus habet qui occulte detrahit." Unde vocatur canis rabidus. Et hinc Augustinus, pater religionis multiplicis, fertur fecisse sibi scribi in patulo mense sue.

Eccles. X, 11

B 57<sup>a</sup>

*Quisquis amat | dictis absentum rodere vitam  
Hanc mensam indignam noverit esse sibi.*

Isto igitur modo species secunda apostasie committitur.

The three other marks of apostasy, 'winking with the eye, beating with the foot, and speaking with the finger', though literally true of

apostates, can also be taken in a figurative sense.

By the eye is meant the intention according to the Gospel: for it directs all the movements of the soul.

To wink with the eye means to turn aside from general good to private interest.

This is to be a self-lover. It is almost impossible for any particular 'religion' to be without this sin.

One perversion: men are entrapped into the Order at any age, in order to increase its numbers.

This is foolishness; for Christ's religion is more perfect than the others into which men are induced to enter.

Tres autem alie species possibiles inesse fratribus H. innuuntur dum sequitur: "Annuat oculis, terit pede, digito loquitur"; licet autem corporalis inconstancia insit apostatis, cum agitantur a malo spiritu qui inordinate commovet omnia membra sua, tamen videtur quod spiritus sanctus voluit in istis esse sententiam plus subtilem. Constat autem ex fide ewangelii (Math. VI) quod per oculos intelligitur intencio intellectus; quia per intellectum dirigitur tota alia operacio cognitiva anime, sicut omnia membra hominis diriguntur oculo corporali.

Matth. VI, 22

Ille igitur apostata facit nutum oculis, qui dimissa intencione boni communis annuit vel assentit privato comodo, quod est maxime Christiane religionis destructio. Ideo apostolus vocat tales apostatas homines se ipsos amantes, ut patet II<sup>a</sup> Thim. III, II<sup>a</sup> Cor. XIII et ad Philippens. II. Et ab isto peccato impossibile vel difficile est, quod privetur privata religio. Primus igitur error in intencione privata videtur, quod ad magnificandum privatum ordinem homines seducti in quacunque etate fallaciter inducuntur. Videtur igitur esse stulticia sic obligare pueros vel quoscunque; primo, quia status religionis Christiane simplicis est undequaque perfectior, cum tradiciones sibi adiecte sint difficiles, periculose, et ex debilitate egentes confirmatione humana. Cum igitur quodcunque opus meritorium potest homo facere liberior extra talem ordinem privatum, quomodo non est stultius ipsum ingredi ad merendum? Frater igitur, qui ipsum ingressum annuit dum statum perfectiorem tollit, peccat | non mediocriter contra regulam caritatis.

A 47<sup>b</sup>

B 58<sup>a</sup>

1. Ecclesiastici CEF; *ib.* dicitur BEF. 4. sic B. 5. quis *deest* E; *ib.* absentem A; verbis B. 9. in nituntur E 13. sanctus *deest* E. 16. cognita B; *ib.* intellectu F. 17. minora *pro* membra C. 20. dimisso comodo comuni E. 23. ad *deest* E. 28. facili-ter ABCD.



- Et multo evidencius ille, qui inducit pueros per mendacia et dona zophistica; quia ista videtur esse temptatio mali spiritus meridiani. Item non est prudentis dissolvere proporcionem et numerum quem deus voluerit in ecclesia observari, sed obligans hominem ut sit frater vel notorie vel ex sibi dubio dissolvit hunc ordinem: igitur undique peccat. Nam faciens hoc scienter peccaret graviter; et presumens in tam sibi ambiguo peccaret etiam, cum homo debet facere certe meritorium, dimisso ambiguo. Et hinc videtur Christum reprobasse Phariseos Math. XXIII. | "Ve vobis", inquit, Math. "scribe et Pharisei ypocrite, qui circuitis mare et aridam ut faciatis unum proselitum; et cum fuerit factus, facitis illum filium Yehenne, duplo quam vos."
- 15 Quantum ad dissolutionem ordinis Christi patet ex fide, quod deus vult non omnes esse ewangelistas vel fratres; sed quosdam laycos, quosdam unius secte, quosdam alterius, ad edificacionem ecclesie. Ideo dicit I. Cor. XII, 15 apostolus 1<sup>a</sup> Cor XII<sup>o</sup>, "quod non expedit, sed officit ut omne membrum corporis humani sit oculus". Quid igitur scit talis fratrifactor si dissolvit hunc ordinem, I. et perturbat rem publicam? Item cum ex principio religionis quilibet debet privatum bonum contempnere et bonum commune attendere, patet quod quilibet 25 fratrifactor debet mensurari hac regula; sed quis scit, si naturalis complexio vel impulsus spiritus in illo quem obligat plus sit, ut sit frater vel religiosus alterius ordinis expropriarii vel possessionati? Ymo si B 58<sup>a</sup> vivat apostolicam vitam | in seculo, cum notum sit, 30 quod tales seculares sunt multis claustralibus meliores? Cum igitur talis fratrifactor nescit quod bonum est deo plus complacens vel utilius sancte ecclesie, videtur quod presumptiva dei temptatio foret sic facere talem fratrem.
- 35 Unde quidam pueri dicuntur sagaciter respondere temptantibus, quod vellent libenter esse religiosi illius ordinis, quem | deus plus approbat et qui foret eis plus competens; cum ignorando veritatem in isto, peccarent graviter utrimque. Si enim hoc movet, "id foret

It is imprudent to change the proportion of numbers in the Church; and he who tries to increase his Order's numbers, either changes it, or risks doing so, and consequently sins in any case.

All cannot be evangelists or friars.

Some must be laymen, some of different sects.

The whole body, as the apostle says, cannot be the eye.

And does this friar-maker know if he will not destroy the whole order?

Does he know if the divine inspiration will lead the man whom he wishes to influence rather into his order than into any other?

And if he should lead an apostolic life in the world, would he not be better there?

2. esse *deest* E. 3. prudenter ABCDE. 4. quo CD. 7. hoc *deest* F; *ib.* undique multum BEF. 12. et *deest* E. 11. reprobare F. 15. solutionem B; *ib.* Christi *deest* EF. 19. sufficit E. 24. privatum pro commune C; commune Ecclesie E. 25. quid CE; *ib.* scit *deest* E. 32. vel utilius *deest* CD; utile F. 33. habere E. 35. dicunt E. 37. plus *deest* E. 39. utrumque C.

Should anyone think: — "This would be more useful to me and my Order: therefore I will try to bring it about", he would be among those who seek their own, not Christ's interest.

The universal good is set aside by the sects, when each seeks after a particular good. We ought therefore to lay aside all these particular religions. The rule of Augustine was opposed to neither layman nor clerk; there is no contrary to the general idea of Order, but only to their particular forms. That is why ownership always savours of sin.

Suppose that four friars, one of each of the four orders, intend to make some one a member of their order. Their intentions ought all to be for the good of the Church. Now they would result in the same man belonging at once to four orders.

michi et ordini meo utilius, ideo est michi optacius", statim sic motus dicitur esse in capitulo illorum omnium, qui querunt que sua sunt et non domini Jesu Christi. Quod dampnat apostolus, Ad Philipp. II<sup>o</sup>, et per consequens talis non ex caritate sed invidia faceret talem fratrem; cum 1<sup>a</sup> Cor. XIII dicit apostolus, quod "caritas non querit que sua sunt." Et servata ista caritatis regula, videtur quod nullus unius ordinis procuraret personam, vel lucrum suo ordini, antequam nosceret hoc prodesse et non esse ad deterioracionem cuiuscunque ecclesie. Et hec est ratio quare Christus et apostoli contentati sunt de religione communi nulli contraria. Et apostolus propter securitatem religionis cupit omnes alios vivere ut se ipsum, ut dicitur 1<sup>a</sup> Cor. VII. Secte igitur faciunt illud bonum Christi commune dimitti, cum unum utile uni privato ordini sit alteri displicens et repugnans. Abiciamus igitur religiones et utilitates privatas, quia II<sup>a</sup> Petr. II<sup>o</sup> "fuerunt vero et pseudo prophete in populo, sicut et in nobis erunt magistri mendaces, qui introducent sectas perdicionis, et eum qui emit eos Dominum negant, superducentes sibi celerem perdicionem." | Regula, inquam, Augustini non fuit clerico vel layco alicui contraria, sed prodesens; | ymo sicut substancie nichil est contrarium secundum logicos, sed qualitati, ita videtur generalem ordinem nulli esse contrarium, sed privatum; qui signa et speciem inutiliter substituit tanquam ordini Christiano necessaria. Et hec ratio quare civilis proprietas inseparabiliter sapit peccatum; nec homo debet sine peccato quicquam facere, nisi de quanto est certus ipsum prodesse toti ecclesie: ut sunt opera virtutum et alia privata, ad que est instinctus spiritus consulentis.

Unde solebam ponere quod 4<sup>or</sup> fratres 4<sup>or</sup> ordinum pro simul intendant facere quemquam fratrem sui ordinis; et signatis illis 4<sup>or</sup> intencionibus, non eis est fingendum, quare una earum foret licita quin per idem et quelibet; et per consequens finis proximus ab eis intentus foret utilis ecclesie; et sic, quod eadem simplex persona sit simul frater istorum ordinum: quod constat esse impossibile, nisi inter istos ordines non

3. non que BEF; *ib.* domini nostri EF. 4. ad *deest* E. 5. facit E; facit et F. 7. privata E. 7. 8. caritate E. 10. esse ad *deest* ABCD. 11. est *deest* DEF. 13. The MS. E goes no further. 14. sic dicitur pro ut dicitur F. 18. 2 dicitur CD. 19. vobis. 32. instructus B.

Philip.

II, 21

5

I. Cor.

XIII, 5

I. Cor.

VII, 7

15

II. Petr.

II, 1

20

B 58<sup>c</sup>

A 48<sup>a</sup>

25

30

40



- foret talis distincio. Nec secundum condicionatam volicionem, subintelligendo, ut dicit beatus Jacobus, *This is not justified because they say they submit to God's will.*
- Jac. IV, 15 "si deus voluerit," procederent licite sic ad opus, quia sic possent licite quodcunque opus nephandum committere. Ideo videtur temerarium cuiquam non inspirato consulere ad statum privatum vel talem accipere; sed in religione communi et per se operum, virtutum, quiescere. Et patet quam temera est apostasia in faciendo fratres, non assistente spiritu consulente. Et
- 10 tantum dictum sit de apostasia ex nutu oculi obli-
- A 48<sup>b</sup> quantis a regula | caritatis.
- K. Quantum ad quartam apostasiam fratrum que po-
- B 58<sup>d</sup> test in isto verbo intelligi, "terit pede," patet quod |
- Joh. XIII, 10 per pedem intelligitur affectio in scriptura ut Joh. XIII. *4<sup>th</sup> mark of apostasy: "beating with the foot". "The foot" in Scripture language means the affections. Thus the inordinate affection which friars have towards temporal things causes apostasy among them. Their begging attacked, its First defect: they beg when they are not in want. To beg is indeed not illicit; but he who begs to excess becomes an apostate. Mendicancy, clamorous, continual, shameless, is not that of the Apostles. The cause of this can be destroyed only by an Apostolic life. They beg for a community that has ships and jewels, and enough money for many years. Ought not alms to be refused to such?*
- 15 "Qui lotus est non indiget nisi ut pedes lavet." Sic igitur affectio inordinata quam fratres habent ad temporalia causat in eis apostasiam multiplicem, et ydolatriam. Ideo dicit apostolus, 1<sup>a</sup> Thim. VI<sup>o</sup>, quod "radix omnium malorum est cupiditas"; potest etiam in
- I. Tim. VI, 10
- 20 fratribus esse hec ydolatria ex defectu mendicandi, ex defectu utendi, et ex defectu retinendi; licet autem mendicare sit licitum, tamen mendicare inordinate facit apostatas. Potest enim mendicatio esse tam clamorose et inopportune continuata quod eius superfluitas sit
- 25 detestabilis et inverecunda. Apostoli autem innuitive ad magnam indigenciam mendicarunt; sed necesse est fratres, propter irreligiosum globum eorum atque superfluum, indebite mendicare. Ideo causa huius peccati debet primo precidi; quod perfecte fiet, si pure
- 30 viverent apostolice seiunctis suis tradicionibus adinventis. Tunc enim foret comunitas eorum perfeccior quam est modo. Ideo non mirum, si discrasia in morum principio, causat peccatum patencius consequenter. Mendicant autem fratres pro communitate cuius unum
- 35 membrum habet naves in mari, thesaurum iocalium atque pecuniam, que foret communitati diu sufficiens. Quomodo igitur non debet subtrahi a tali communitate elemosina pro consensu nefando? Et eadem est consideracio de fratribus, qui episcopantur et fiunt
- A 48<sup>e</sup> mundo | divites, dum debent habere omnia in communi.

7. virtutum deest CD. 8. quod temerarius B. 12. autem ad F.  
 14. ut patet B. 19. est deest F. 20. 21. ex defectu — retinendi  
 deest B. 24. 25. delectabilis ABCDF. 29. fieret BCD. 30. apostolici A; B. relictis F. 32. distrasias ABD. 35. caritate CD. 35. sed D.  
 38. est deest F.

*Its second defect: they take from poor people, and render them poorer still.*

*Its third defect: the ungodliness of their*

*intention: they spend in luxuries the substance of Christ's poor.*

*Though the community be poorly fed, yet the chiefs are not.*

*But worse than all is the superfluity of their ornaments and unnecessary houses.*

*They are said to have palaces and extravagant churches.*

*Excuser: 1<sup>st</sup> It is for the glory of God.*

*2<sup>nd</sup> Rich men have given them money on purpose for these adornments.*

*3<sup>rd</sup> Such churches will last longer.*

*This only proves that their first spirit slumbers; that they care more for the world than for Christ, or His love.*

*The perfect man is the example of Christ.*

*Devout persons and clergymen of the order who consent to these abuses are blamable.*

Et sic est secundus defectus mendicacionis fratrum, dum mendicant a paupere populo laicali plus indigo per mendacia et multiplices artes | demonii; ut patet B 59<sup>a</sup> inferius. Et tercio, deficit mendicacio propter irreligiositatem finis intenti; ut quando in vescibilibus et ornamentis et domibus sumptuosis terunt irreligiose magnam pauperum Christi substantiam; licet autem communitas fratrum parce vescatur, capitanei tamen ut graduati et mendici validi laute vivunt, ut dicitur esse in eorum inceptacionibus et privatis conviviis. Sed istorum maliciam superat sumptuosa et superflua ornamenta cum domibus excessivis. Illi enim qui debent de religione primeva habere tuguria abiecta vel casulas et oratoria, ad memorandum Christum pauperem, que concordent pauperibus qui doceant mundi contemptum<sup>15</sup> et quod "non habemus hic manentem civitatem sed futuram inquiremus." Illi, inquam, dicuntur habere aulas et domos regias ac excessivas basilicas in quantitate, in subtilitate et sumptuositate ac ornamenta mundo splendencia; per hec, inquam, cultus dei contemptur, locus a laycis religiosis despicitur et fratrum mundialis affectio reseratur.

Et quomodocunque glozaverint, quod hoc est ad honorem dei exigentis in servis suis cultum honorificum, quod mundo divites hoc requirunt, | qui dant illis A 48<sup>a</sup> ad hoc subsidium, vel quod hoc est utilius, quia diutius permansivum. Quotquot autem sunt huiusmodi excusaciones in peccatis, indicant quod primeva religio est sopita, dum plus intenditur placere populo adulterrinis aspectibus, quam ut mundum lugeant abiectis in 30 actibus, plus alludere eis mundanis applausibus quam edificare eos virtutibus. Et omnino | comenta dyaboli B 59<sup>b</sup> concludunt fratri taliter excusanti, quod deus huius seculi et favor mundi plus appreciatur ab eis, quam dominus virtutum vel ex imitatione Christi pauperis 35 amor dei. Et patet apostasia in defectu multiplici L. mendicandi. Medium enim virtuosum, non mundi vel milonis, sed medie persone divine mundo pauperis, est captandum. Et omnino reprobandi sunt devoti et subtiles clerici istorum ordinum, qui non resistunt sed 40 favent fratribus per consensum. Illi autem sunt magis

1. mendicantium F. 2. indigno B; indigente F. 4. defecit mendacio B. 8. per se ACD; communiter parce F. 14. qui B. 19. in pro et F. 27, 28. excusaciones tales F. 29. attenditur B. 30. virtutibus pro in actibus F. 34. appreciantur B.



inimici domestici; nec dubium quin ista irreligiosa mendicatio inducit bonorum dei consumptionem illicitam.

- Et specialiter in isto quod omnes hii ordines et  
 5 fratres singuli debent omnia habere in communi. Sic enim habuit primitiva ecclesia quo ad sexum, etatem, et genus patrie differens; ergo multo magis fratres, quos non distinguit nisi privata religio. Apostoli quidem et episcopi facti per ipsos habuerunt omnia in  
 10 communi, sicut debent habere episcopi et seculares  
 A 49<sup>a</sup> clerici, ut patet 1<sup>a</sup> questione 2<sup>a</sup> per multa capitula: itaque cur non fratres? Item, fratres habent super suis usibilibus pure dominium ewangelicum, non civile; sed quo ad illud omnes boni fratres vel Christiani sunt  
 15 pares. Igitur debent parificari in usibus moderatis. Suppono autem, quod dominium eorum distinguitur ab usu; quomodo igitur negabit habundans in vescibilibus vel aliis usualibus fratri eiusdem ordinis eciam alienigene vel fratri alterius ordinis tam indigo et tam  
 20 digno? Revera videtur esse dei iniuria et personarum acceptio. Item, fratres iuste vendicant a clero seculari  
 B 59<sup>e</sup> et populo domicilium | et vescibilia quando egent; sed maior undique debet esse communicatio fratrum quorumcunque adinvicem; igitur illi sufficientes debent  
 25 ministrare in istis fratribus quibuscunque egentibus. Nec tollit particularitas ordinis vel humana institutio hoc vinculum caritatis; nisi forte fingantur fratres alterius ordinis indigniores suffragari de alienis fratribus;  
 Gal. V, 20, 21 et econtra. Cum apostolus ad Gal. V<sup>to</sup> coniungit sectas  
 30 atque invidias, illud, inquam, accusat quod tradicio religionis invente sit contra regulas caritatis.  
 Nec excusat parcitas limitata hiiis fratribus, quia  
 Tob. IV, 8, 9 (secundum doctrinam Thobie IV<sup>to</sup>) proporcionabiliter ad possessionem debet possessor egenis tribuere; quia  
 A 49<sup>b</sup> aliter evidencius pauper secula | ris, a quo fratres mendicant, diceret eis quod vix habet sufficienciam sibi et sue familie. Et specialiter, cum licet seculari  
 Matth. VI, 34 facere provisiones annales, sed fratres (secundum ewangelium Matthaei VI<sup>to</sup>) non debent pro crastino providere.

These orders ought to have all things in common among themselves. Thus it was in the Primitive Church, though the differences were much greater, but the friars are only distinguished by their particular order.

Can a friar who has in abundance food &c., deny anything he has to another friar who is in want?

Friars rightly ask of the people food and lodging; but their needy brethren have more rights on them than they on the people.

One bad excuse is the poverty required of all friars.

We must all give to the poor according to our ability.

7. differens deest omnes MSS. 18. vel pro eciam F. 19. vel deest F. 19, 20. tam indigno et tam indigno B; et tam indigno ACD. 27. fin-  
 gatur ACD. 28. indigniori F. 30. quod deest D.

Nec obest cunctis ordinibus fratrum habere omnia in communi, cum totum genus cleri debet sic habere, superiores in dies ad moderatam vite mensuram et inferiores superhabundans temporalium provide ministrando. Unde accusaret fratres non modicum, quod 5 conferant propter retributionem temporalem mundi divitibus etiam ministrallis refocillationem lautam in vescibilibus et domicilio et negent hoc fratribus et iustis aliis plus egenis.

In hope of gain, they treat the rich to luxuries, which they deny to their own brethren.  
 Sed contra istud instatur per hoc quod iuxta istam 10 M. sententiam liceret fratri unius ordinis cohabitare et vesci cum fratre alieni ordinis, etiam in presencia proprii ordinis plus indigentis: consequens apostaticum et distincionis destructivum. Hic videtur, quod sic arguens legeret factum apostoli | (ad Gal. II<sup>o</sup>) et tunc B 59<sup>d</sup> concederet conclusionem, nedum tanquam catholicam, Gal. II, 4 sed a divisione sectarum irreligiose inductam ad unitatem ewangelicam reductivam; sic quod omnes ordines fratrum sint unus ordo. Licet autem tam fratres quam alii cognoscant istam sententiam, tamen tacitur- 20 nitate consensus dampnabiliter permittunt tradiciones humanas superexcrecere regulas caritatis.

Another bad excuse: Friars of different orders may not live together, or all distinctions of orders would be destroyed.  
 Sicut enim insolubile | aput logicos tribus modis A 49<sup>e</sup> suboritur; primo modo, quando dimissa significacione recta communi antiqua significacioni novelle intenditur: 25 ut patet in ista: "*Sor dicit falsum*". Secundo modo, quando solemnissatur tradicio humana ac si per se faceret ius ut deus, sicut patet de obediencia servorum post condicionem communem adiectam; et tercio modo quando contradiccionis tacite innuitur; ut patet in casu 30 de pertransicione pontis. Sic peccatum insolubiliter redarguit eos qui volunt ipsi intendere: primo ex vi vocis *professionis private*, dimissa communi religione antiqua, ut patet, in religione novella, secundo humane legis institutio ac si ipsa per se iustificet, ut 35 patet in eleccionibus, etiam de papa; et tercio, in omni peccato seducitur peccator putans bonum quod

We come to absurd conclusions. 1<sup>st</sup> by giving a new signification to an old word; as, "*Socrates*" (meaning an individual) tells a falsehood"; 2<sup>nd</sup> by raising a mere human custom into divine right; as in the case of slavery; and 3<sup>rd</sup> when there is a hypothesis implying contradiction. Now here, 1<sup>st</sup> a new sense is given to 'religion'.

3. iudices *pro* in dies F. 13. indigentibus B. 14. distincionis ordinum CDF; egentis F. 17. ad missionem B; ib. inducta CD. 21. assensus B; ib. dampnabili BF. 25. invente novelle BF. 26. isto B. 27. ac per se CD. 28. de *deest* F. 30. taceret F. 35. confusio vel conficacio *pro* institutio ABCD.

26. *Sor*, or *Sortes*, is short for *Socrates*, a name very much employed by medieval logicians for any individual whatever.



officit, et tamen insolubiliter admittenti casus peccati concluditur. Theologi igitur debent radicatus casus istos detegere, ne fundamentum falsum exuperet veritatem. In tercio vero membro huius blasfemie patet quod fratres ydolatre reservant sibi temporalia, innuendo se in ipsis plus confidere quam in deo. Et tantum hic de 4<sup>a</sup> blasfemia.

5<sup>ta</sup> vero blasfemia notatur in 5<sup>to</sup> verbo: "digito loquitur", non intelligendo quod religiosi claustrales locuntur ludicra cum adinventionibus signorum, post iniunctum silentium, sed intelligendo | per "digitum" potestatem agendi, modo quo loquitur scriptura (Exod. VIII). "Digitus dei est hic": hoc est, | potestas singulariter operandi. Sic, inquam, pseudofratres blasfemant in potestate spirituali presbyteri pro pecunia de simplicibus acquirenda. Potest autem blasphemia fratrum in ista materia potestative loquendum in tria dividi. Primo menciendo de absolutione a pena et a culpa, vel de indulgentiis, aut aliis ficticiis machinatis. Et de isto expeditum est alibi. Nam periculum est in prelati ultra fundamentum scripture blasfeme magnificant digitum suum in isto; periculum etiam est in fratribus qui istam blasfemiam excitant et defendunt; et tercio, periculum est in simplicibus qui infideliter confidunt et laborant in talibus. Fides, inquam, orthodoxa docet quod a Christo secundum meritum recipiet contritus absolutionem vel indulgentiam, cui prelatorum nostrorum concessio est inpertinens vel repugnans. Imperitinens dico, quia mereatur homo et conteratur apud deum quantumcunque abscondite, et secundum hoc habebit a deo tantam indulgentiam, sicut si cum hoc habuerit a papa mille bullas. Quod si a raro contingentibus, contritio et devotio et meritum hominis provocentur per hoc quod dat populo vel prelato elemosinam vel laborat non infideliter circa illam, tunc tale ministerium promovet ut habeat de tanto a deo indulgentiam ampliorem. Et dico indulgentias tales repugnare quandoque, quia sepe vane sperando in frivolis, spes que foret unita in Christo dispergitur et cum labore inutili stultus consumitur; sic quod raro vel nunquam talis remissio vel indulgentia fit ad bonum.

2<sup>nd</sup> Human is confounded with divine law, and 3<sup>rd</sup> right and wrong are supposed identical.

5<sup>th</sup> mark of apostasy: "speaking with the finger".

By the finger is meant the power of acting, as in Scripture: "The finger of God" is here.

First blasphemy: concerning indulgences, absolution, &c.

Danger to prelates who exaggerate their power in this matter.

Danger to friars who defend them.

Danger to simple persons who trust in them.

Absolution given by a prelate is:

1<sup>st</sup> Immaterial: Let a man repent, and that will be enough. If alms-giving &c., increase his devotion, then God will grant him indulgence; if not, not.

2<sup>nd</sup> Hurtful: Often, by putting trust in vain things, hope in Christ is diminished.

21. blasfeme CF. 24. et inutiliter BF. 34. quod - elemosinam vel deest B. 36. a deo de tanto C.

*Second*  
blasphemy:  
They magnify  
those of their  
functions which  
savour of lucre;  
such as masses,  
penances and  
funerals.

*Third*  
blasphemy:  
They get  
confederates  
among laymen  
by their  
confraternities  
and Third-  
Orders.  
So they make  
broad their  
phylacteries,  
etc.

The  
phylacteries  
signify letters  
of fraternity.  
They magnify  
their fringes, in  
that they put  
the meanest  
friar, above any  
Saint, however  
great, if not of  
the Order.

A convincing  
proof that all  
this is done for  
lucre, is: take  
away the hope  
of gain, and  
their spiritual  
help is  
withdrawn;  
concealed  
simony.

Secundo loquitur super digito magnificando sua sacramenta que | lucrum sapiunt, ut celebraciones penitencias et sepulturas, que ex sanctitate ordinis habent robor; et istam materiam egregie tractavit sanctus Richardus episcopus Ardmacanus, et noverunt rectores 5 et sacerdotes rurales quomodo per istam machinam sua stipendia subdole subtrahuntur.

Et tercio loquitur super digito suo, non dei, subtilius confederando sibi laycos conventiculis fraudulentis spargendo in huiusmodi testificationem litteras fraternitatis; sic quod instar Phariseorum dilatant philateria et magnificant fimbrias, ut dicit Christus Matth. XXIII. Sicut enim philateria erant carthule in quibus Phariseorum magistralia sunt inscripta, sic littere tales quoad numerum et pretensionem spiritualis suffragii dilatantur, et ultra Phariseos ad seductionem populi sunt signate. Magnificant autem fimbrias, quia in colore et figura vestimentorum suorum ponunt tantam vim numinis, quod abiectissimum fratrem, servitorem, vel colligatum tanquam fimbriam suo ordini in sanctitate et religione magnificant ultra quemcunque sanctum qui fuerit inpertinens secte sue. Et ita ut symoniace predicant statim post sermonem ad hoc aptatum colligendo pecuniam vel sibi equivalens, sic vendunt talem fraternitatem pro annuo reddito et confederacione fraternitatis illicita modis subdolis de | fendenda. Causa A 50<sup>b</sup> autem talium facta pro temporali lucro ex hoc convincitur, quod, subtrahendo in re et spe hoc lucrum, subtrahitur hoc simulatum spirituale suffragium et patet subdola symonia. Patet etiam racione multiplici blas-

1. sub AB. 8. Sed pro et F. 21. quantumcunque B. 25. fraternitatem spiritualem CEF; sic per talem fraternitatem spiritualem pro B.

5. Richard Fitz Ralph (1347) two or three of whose works, enumerated by Ware, have been printed, and whose tract "De Pauperie Salvatoris" is now being published by the Wyclif Society, was neither beatified nor canonised, except by the Wyclifites. See S.E.W. (Arnold) III., 281. Engl. W. of W., p. 128, and note as to his miracles on p. 507. The only 'Beatus' of that name was Richard, abbot of Saint-Vannes de Verdun (1004); the only saint, Saint Richard, bishop of Chichester (1244). 13. Letters of admission to the Third-Order. Silvera (opuscul. 38) assigns the date 1221 to the first foundation of a Third-Order, by St. Francis of Assisi.



- femia; primo, in hoc quod magnificent infideliter et infundabiliter signa sua; secundo, in hoc quod fingunt ex cultu signorum per se adesse meritum fratrifacio; et  
 B 60<sup>o</sup> tercio, in hoc quod promittunt et vendunt | participium  
 5 sui meriti, quod deo est proprium: et hoc pro comodo temporali. Talia, inquam, conventicula possent faciliter perturbare rempublicam ex comparacionibus dignitatum; talis autem stultus cognosceret quod vix aut minus habet ipse cum tota secta sua scintillam meriti ad  
 10 beatitudinem consequendam. Consideret secundo, quod deus dividet dignis suis de communione meriti sine taxatione merentis et sic propter presumptionem istam blasphemam fit indignus, et quilibet sibi consensiciens, ut sibi vel alii mereatur. Magnificemus itaque fideliter  
 15 istum articulum fidei, communionem sanctorum, quod secundum distributionem deo propriam consequitur dignitatem et meritum quo ad deum.
- O. Sed ad colorandum istud obicitur: Quilibet potest quicquid suum est vendere et donare; meritum igitur  
 20 suum potest frater donare, sic quod donatarius faciat recompensam. Ad istud argumentum Symonis respondetur negando assertum, quia meritum hominis est sic in manu dei et condicione connexum, quod repugnat eius translationem fieri tali pacto: de quo alibi.
- A 50<sup>o</sup> Secundo, obicitur per hoc | quod ex fide unus potest mereri alteri; nec repugnat isti merito quod ipsum  
 Gal. VI, 6 participans gratis retribuatur elemosinam corporalem; igitur factum tale est licitum. Unde ad Gal. VI<sup>o</sup> mandat apostolus "Communicet autem is qui cathechizatur  
 30 verbo ei qui se cathechizat in omnibus bonis". Nam propter talem retributionem promerens libencius meretur. Nec aliter quisquam conduceret oratores. Hic dicitur, quod verum assumitur et verum annectitur, sed istis non pertinet, quod quis vendat meritum ex  
 35 paccio vel tacite. Ideo nimirum contractus talis vel paccio est deo odibilis. Oportet igitur notare primo, quod opus sit de genere eorum que deus instituit ad edificacionem ecclesie; oportet secundo notare quod  
 B 60<sup>o</sup> modus operandi sit licitus; | et oportet tercio pensare  
 40 quod occasio data de fratris scandalo subtrahatur.

These foolish men ought to know: I. that their sect has no merit that can win bliss;

II. that God gives His deserving servants communion in all merits without making them pay; and that such presumption renders them undeserving, as well as those who consent to sharing their merits with them.

Objections: 1<sup>st</sup> To give away or sell one's own, i. e. merit, is lawful.

Answer: merit cannot be dealt with thus.

2<sup>nd</sup> To share one's merit with another is allowable; so is to give corporal alms: now this is all that takes place.

Answer: The conclusion: This is all that takes place, is false. For there is a compact, either tacit or express: and that is illicit.

5. deo deest B. 9. sanctificata pro sua scintillam F. 10. consideraret F. 14. itaque deest F. 15. fide C; ib. communione C. 16. domini B; ib. censetur. 18. tolerandum F; ib. istum articulum obicitur sic B. 20. donatorius C. 22. assumptum BF. 24. eius translationi tali fieri B. 30. se deest F. 32. Hic verum F.

These 'letters of fraternity' are condemned by Scripture. And the sale of merit has no excuse.

The instance of money given to 'oratory-priests' does not bear on the point: there is in that case a fixed amount of bodily labour and of stipend. But here grace — i. e. God — is sold.

The Church is 'bought with a great price': a man can sell himself to the devil, and to the state too, as a slave; but God, His grace, &c. cannot be possessed exclusively and are thus unbuyable. St. Paul wishes the spiritual teachers to receive enough to support them.

It is foolish to make oneself answerable for another's sins, as the Friars do; for the reprobate, though they have to answer for other people, are only punished for their own misdeeds. III. If money can be given to oratory priests on account of

Talis autem cartha fraternitatis non exemplatur in scriptura, sed multipliciter innuitur reprobata tanquam superflua et nociva; modus autem tacite vendendi meritum caret colore, cum nec sit subiectum potestati fratris, quod opus suum sit meritum, nec quod alter 5 merito suo supposito ipso participet. Ideo secus est de isto et de conduccione presbiteri vel oratoris, quia ibidem labor corporalis et stipendium ad hoc necessarium limitatur. Hic autem gracia — et sic deus — vendi presumitur, quod est omnino inordinatum, cum 10 deus licet sit hominis, tamen vendi non potest cum non potest ab homine singulariter possideri, cum oportet ipsum dominative et equivoce haberi | a qualibet crea- A 50<sup>d</sup> tura; tota autem ecclesia vendi potest, cum dicitur 1<sup>a</sup> Cor. VI<sup>o</sup>: Precio magno empti estis". Homo etiam 15 potest vendere animam suam dyabolo, ymo se ipsum in servum civilem, sed deus cum gracia et aliis sibi propriis caret ratione emibilis. Regnum tamen celorum a deo venditur et a servo suo emitur secundum rationem, qua a deo distinguitur: et sic vult apostolus eum 20 qui cathecizatur (hoc est, in fide instruitur) communicare cum informante tam bonis corporalibus quam spiritualibus: quod fit si virtuose ministrat ei temporalia necessaria ad hoc opus, ut docet apostolus (1<sup>a</sup> Cor. IX). Quod si alter eorum errat ex affectione sin- 25 gulari in cambio, tunc non communicat in omnibus bonis. Ideo statim annectit apostolus: "Nolite errare, deus non irridetur, que enim seminauerit homo, hec et metet"; quasi diceret: contractus talis non est utilis coram deo; quia ut paulo ante dicit, "unusquisque onus 30 suum portabit." Ideo stultum est hominem mercari cum alienis peccatis vel | obligari ut pro peccatis alterius B 61<sup>a</sup> ex hoc libere respondeat coram deo. Quamvis autem omnes dampnandi et specialiter prelati respondebunt pro peccatis suis et aliis, tamen correspondenter quo 35 ad suum demeritum, ut dicit apostolus, dampnabuntur. Sed tercio instatur ad colorandum hoc factum per P. hoc quod licet conducere etiam oratores pro opere corporali; licet igitur dare fratribus ut annuatim et specialiter post mortem hominis notificatam fratribus 40

5. meritum BF. 11. sit *deest* ABCD; *ib.* non potest *deest* C.  
12. tamen C. 17. deo F. 21. cathecizatur C. 23. fit *deest* C.  
24, 25. Apostolus 1<sup>a</sup> *deest* F. 28. enim *deest* F. 31. homini B.  
32. per peccatum AB. 33. libere A; *ib.* respondens B. 37. colorando B;  
colendum F. 40. notificatum B.



- solempnisent eius exequias: Pro tali igitur labore cor-  
 A 51<sup>a</sup> porali | possunt accipere pecuniam gratis datam. Hic  
 dicitur quod in istis factis sunt tot palliaciones dyaboli,  
 quod infinitis modis sophisticari potest symoniace scola  
 5 sua. Talis igitur palliator caveret primo ne det scan-  
 dalum erroris fratri suo, dicendo sibi quod non temere  
 confidat in alieno merito sed ex vi communionis sanc-  
 torum, proporcionabiliter ut ipse se ipsum dignificat  
 per gratiam prevenientem, sic communicabit et meritis  
 10 tocius ecclesie. Sic quod est in potestate dei et super  
 potestatem fratris, ut alius communicet secum in me-  
 rito; et carthe ac talia sacramenta inducta sunt nedum  
 inpertinencia sed blasfeme inhabilitantes undique ad  
 merendum.
- 15 Et preter hec sunt multe conspiraciones illicite in  
 contractu abscondito; ideo odiunt fratres, ut in lucem  
 veniant, cum favor unius secte contrariatur alteri. Si  
 igitur placet benefacere istis sectis, tribuatur eis ab-  
 solute seorsum elemosina, ut dissolvantur colligaciones  
 20 inpietatis et reducantur ad perfeccionem religionis  
 primeve. Sic enim habebuntur utilius oratores, et fient  
 pro illis multa milia missarum, vel aliud opus pre-  
 ponderans ubi iam utrimque tollitur communicacio in  
 B 61<sup>b</sup> merendo. Servet, inquam, homo | legem Christi et  
 25 zelet pro ea, destruendo novitates infundabiles, que  
 surrepunt, et habebit totam ecclesiam multiplicius,  
 efficacius, et affectuosius oratricem. Unde ista infidelis  
 ymaginacio de adiutorio merendi, propter similitudinem  
 adiutorii corporalis, excecatur simplices per yppocritas se-  
 30 ducentes: et tantum hic de ista apostasia.
- Q. Sexta et septima includuntur in hiis verbis: "pravo  
 corde machinatur malum et omni tempore iurgia se-  
 minat." Radix autem communionis huius apostasie est  
 inordinata machinacio proprietaria intellectus. Machi-  
 35 natur enim, quid foret sibi vel persone agregate mon-  
 struose, hoc est toti secte sue, utilius; et dimissa lege  
 dei ac utilitate communi ecclesie illud studiose prose-  
 quitur. Nec dubium quin ista sit prava intencio, quia  
 machinatur perficere malum culpe; nichil enim deo  
 40 communi, preponderanti bona communia, magis con-  
 trarium, quam, illo bono contempto, privato et pla-

their bodily  
labour, the same  
may be offered  
to Friars; for  
instance, to  
celebrate  
funeral rites.

*Answer:*  
Before all  
things, we  
must take care  
not to be  
stumbling-  
blocks to our  
brethren.

There are many  
secret workings  
in these  
understood  
bargains which  
the Friars do  
not wish to  
come to the  
light; sect  
conspiring  
against sect, &c.  
It were better to  
give alms to  
each separately,  
if at all, to avoid  
such intrigues.  
All this harm  
proceeds from  
false analogies  
with which  
simpletons are  
deceived by  
hypocrites.

*Last marks of  
apostasy:* evil  
intrigues and  
sowing of  
quarrels.  
The root of  
this: that they  
only consider  
the advantage  
of their sect.

This intention  
is most  
perverse.

13. blasphemie F; ib. inhabitantes B. 18, 19. abscondite; absolute in  
 marg. F. 19. collaciones F. 39. enim est F.

A sect sins  
more grievously  
by covetousness  
and worldliness  
than the same  
number of  
separate  
individuals.  
For sin, as fire,  
does the more  
harm in  
proportion as  
it is more  
concentrated.

Both monks and  
rectors waste  
the goods of the  
poor; but the  
monks are  
worse, each  
consenting to  
the sin of all.

For that reason  
the first monks  
lived alone, like  
John Baptist.

*Objection:*  
Christ lived,  
with His  
Disciples; but  
He was more  
perfect than  
John Baptist.

*Answer:* Christ  
knew how  
to choose the  
few whom He  
knew to be fit.  
And Christ  
instructed His  
disciples in the  
very best way,  
in order to  
ripen and  
disperse them  
afterwards in  
the world:  
Whereas our  
Abbots and  
Prelates do  
nothing of the  
sort.

cenciori comodo plus inniti. Sicut enim persona agre-  
gata, que est secta religionis possessionate, peccat gra-  
vius intensive et extensive in avaricia et moribus mun-  
danis quam totidem persone simplices disperse, quarum  
quolibet sit nimis mundo dedita, sic est de persona 5  
secte expropriatarie in comparacione ad tot heremitas  
ypocritas, quia culpa more ignis nocet intensius cum  
fuerit congregata. Ut notemus unum cenobium mona-  
chorum, quod excessive in persona propria, in sump-  
tuosa ac superflua familia, et adiacente extra comitivam, 10  
consumit mundialiter bona pauperum; et notemus  
totidem rectores quorum quilibet inordinate consumit  
bona pauperum: et constat quod | nullus eorum per B 61<sup>e</sup>  
se tenet tam inordinatam | et excessivam domum tot A 51<sup>e</sup>  
peccatis implicitam. Cum igitur omnes et singuli 15  
monachi perpetrant totum peccatum id ex consensu ne-  
phario, dum placet eis, et pompant de opere, vel sal-  
tem non sufficienter corripunt nec recedunt, patet quod  
quilibet illorum monachorum peccat intensius et dif-  
fusius quo ad seculum, quam aliquis talis rector. Et 20  
hinc credo spiritum sanctum movisse primo sanctos  
monachos vivere instar baptiste vitam solitariam sive  
monasticam. Sic enim vixit Ieronimus et multi sancti  
patres ante tempus sancti Benedicti. Communitas enim  
prona ad mundum machinatur peius et exequitur for- 25  
cius malum culpe, quam faceret una persona simplex  
et per se posita.

Et si obicitur quod Christus qui vixit in communi R.  
cum fratribus est perfectior quam baptista, dicitur quod  
defectus talis similitudinis excecatur plurimos; nam 30  
Christus scivit eligere paucos quos voluit; et scivit esse  
ad societatem talem ydoneos; prelati vero hodie hoc  
ignorant. Christus etiam scivit secundum optimum  
magisterium discipulos suos instruere et a viciis coher-  
cere ut maturati spersim seminentur per mundum ad 35  
edificacionem ecclesie; abbates vero nostri, et alii pre-  
lati possessionati, in isto omni quaque deficiunt. Et  
tercio maxime, quia Christus voluit se et XII vivere  
tantum expropriatarie, quod nec habebant proprium  
domicilium, nec bona in communi vel propria ipsis 40  
secundum humanam prudentiam limitata; sed omnino

1. inniti D.  
27. et deest F.

5. minus ACD.  
28. dico pro quod F.

8. aggregata B.

16. illud BF.

35. maturatim sparsim CD;



- A 51<sup>a</sup> contrarium est in conventibus monachorum. | Ideo respiciendo ad vitam modernam et vitam Christi collegii verecundarentur facere huiusmodi argumenta. Prius
- B 61<sup>a</sup> enim vixerunt sancti | vitam heremiticam, sed non ad  
 5 perfectionem apostolicam contigerunt; secundo vero collecti per beatum Benedictum vixerant minus sancte, sed servantes vitam expropriariam et alias condiciones apostolicas maturarunt se sic in sanctitate quod ecclesie vicine gaudebant de illis habere episcopos. Sed tam-  
 10 quam magi pharaonis in tercio signo deficiunt, dum excessive quia symoniace appropriant sibi redditus et ecclesias; et tamquam corvus de archa egrediens invento cadavere sunt plus culpabiliter mundo dediti quam aliqui seculares. Et correspondenter in conven-  
 15 tibus fratrum est malum multiplex aggravatum; nam tota secta machinatur media ad colorandum apostatas; et propter multitudinem acceleranter exequitur accumulando sibi indebite bona pauperum. Nec sufficit una simplex persona, eciam in causa iusta, prosequi contra  
 20 illos; colligantur enim cum dominis et dominabus, cum blasfemia confessionis, cum liga adulacionis et cum participio ypocritice devocionis. Cum autem persona talis secte excedit personam simplicem in peccato tali, quo ad multiplicatam, quo ad peccati gravitatem, et  
 25 quo ad induracionem, ac omnia membra talis secte conparticipant ex consensu, patet quantum est periculum coniungi tali corpori. Si, inquam, candens invidia vel complacencia adulatoria fuerit in tali secta ad  
 A 52<sup>a</sup> quamcunque | personam extrinsecam, dicitur quod in-  
 30 trinsecus corrodunt ut canes per verba detrahencia; extrinsecus denigrant ut fornax per machinamenta mendacia. Et ut pars eorum sit forcior, non est matrimonium, divorcium, vel alia mundialis causa, quin se  
 B 62<sup>a</sup> intro | mittant, quasi rectores negotii tacite vel expresse.  
 S. 35 Nec obest quod multi sunt sancti et subtiles clerici inter eos, quia Christus et apostoli ex generatione pessima processerunt; ymo inter infidelissimas sectas multi sancti proruperant. Exercitium igitur sciencie experimentalis plus viget inter dyabolos; et exercitium vir-

Christ and the twelve had no property; monks do not live so.

The first hermits were less perfect than the Apostles; the next group, under St. Benedict, still less; but so long as they lived without endowments they were good. But now they seize upon revenues and churches, and are worse than seculars.

So also of the Friars.

No private person, be his cause ever so just, can stand against them; they use every influence to gain their point. How perilous to belong to such a body, when each member is responsible for all!

They backbite within the Order, and meddle without.

There are indeed, many Saints among them; but Christ and His disciples came from a perverse race:

10. defecerunt B. 16. corroborandum F. 27. cadens C. 31. machina B. 33. se deest CF.

39. This seems to allude to the charge of sorcery, more directly made elsewhere (see Buddensieg's *Polemical Works of W.*, p. 700), to which the Friars' ardour for experimental science exposed them. See Brewer's preface to *Monumenta Franciscana*, XI. IV, XLV.

Devils are  
cleverer than  
they in  
experimental  
science; and  
there are few  
exercises of  
virtue among  
them.

When their  
saints and  
learned men  
are in despair  
of their  
hardness of  
heart, they fly  
from them; but  
if taken, are  
slain or  
imprisoned for  
life, as  
apostates.  
Their evil  
machinations  
are countless.  
They are said  
to be like wild  
geese:  
destroying the  
seed of faith, as  
geese destroy  
crops; fattening  
on sin as they in  
cold; babbling  
irreligiously,  
with gooselike  
screams.

tutum, corripiendo, parcum est in illis sectis. Quod si dicti sancti et subtiles eorum desperaverint propter maliciam induratam, prudenter aufugiunt; prudenter dico, quia aliter tamquam apostate occiduntur vel perpetuo carceri mancipantur. Nec est noticie in experte numerare machinaciones malas, que fiunt ex talibus apostatarum conventibus.

Unde quidam comparat eos aucis silvestribus, que congregantur gregaliter sine numero limitato, penetrant aerem volando ad modum trianguli, repente assunt segetes consumentes, in temporibus gelidis impinguntur, et in aura placente vel dissona irregulariter formant voces. "Sic", inquit, "fratres contra naturam domesticorum fidei tanquam fere gregaliter congregantur, nec conversantur nisi subdole cum aucis domesticis, nec limitatur eorum conventibus numerus consonus | edificacioni ec- A 52<sup>b</sup> clesie; secundum apostolum, 'penetrant domos' in simplicitate trianguli, dum bini primo penetrant cuius binarii, gravior persona primo penetrat et consequenter binario dat ingressum; ubi fuerit distributio temporalium assunt prompte, non solum congregando semina corporalia, sed semen fidei dissipando; quando refrigerat caritas multorum cum fetore temporalium impinguntur, ut dicit commune proverbium:

*Dum peccatum regnat* 25

*in secretis cameris | bursa fratrum pregnat;* B 52<sup>b</sup>

et demum irreligiose garriunt, tam in tempore prospero quam in adverso." In isto siquidem circulari numero ambulant predicti apostate, ad quos sermo iste dirigitur.

Wyclif appeals  
to his friends  
among the  
Friars, who are  
not apostates,  
to help him in  
detecting these  
bad men.  
He will be  
better able to  
support their  
attacks if  
helped.  
Who impugns  
the foregoing  
doctrine proves  
himself an  
apostate.

Ideo confido de bonis sociis, qui michi confidenter in causa dei astiterant, quod non sibi conscii usque in finem assistant, quia nichil illis et dictis apostatis; sed cum gaudio suscipient et confirmabunt deteccionem eorum, ut et caucius caveantur, et insultus eorum ex multorum iuvamine micus sufferantur. Nec videtur fratrem patencius posse se ostendere esse de dictis apostatis quam inpugnando vel se molestando contra dictam sentenciam. Boni itaque per dei gratiam grantanter accipient istam sentenciam confirmantes; et malorum aliqui convertentur ad religionem Christi prime- 40

8. Comparant omnes MSS. 10. ad medium CD. 11. seges CD.  
12. aurora F. 19. binarius B; *ib.* prima penetrant B; dant B.  
23, 24. impinguntur ACD. 31. in *deest* ACD. 33. detencionem B.  
34. et *deest* F. 35. micus *deest* D.



vam. Alii autem presciti in sua pertinacia dampnabuntur. Et tantum de sexta apostasia.

T. Quo ad septimam et ultimam, que exprimitur in A 52<sup>e</sup> hoc | verbo: "omni tempore iurgia seminat," notandum,

5 quod proprium est apostatis seminare discordias. Si, inquam, tales apostate filii sathane seminant sic septem-  
templicem apostasiam in populo, necessario iurgia et  
adversancie in republica pululabunt; ipsi enim, tam  
corporaliter quam spiritualiter, sedule seminant semen  
10 suum; et non deest dyabolus cum membris suis, qui  
foveat et ad pullulacionem accelerare faciat dictum  
semen. Cum enim ipsi sunt in se ipsis divisi, quia om-  
nis apostata, sicut pater suus, est deo, toti mundo et  
sibi ipsi contrarius, patet quod ducendo populum tan-  
15 quam patres spirituales, seminabunt discordiam; deus

B 62<sup>e</sup> enim propter tales subtrahit gratiam. |

Unde signum est triplex huius fructus discordie,  
primo quod nedum una secta est alteri contraria, sed  
eadem secta etiam secundum modicam partem est  
20 contraria sibi ipsi. Iterum, quasi quilibet dominus secu-  
laris habet unum fratrem confessorem vel consiliarium,  
et cum domini nec machinantur nec exequuntur ea que  
paci sunt, sed belli; et iustificaciones fratrum qui,  
licet bella in sermonibus suis palliant et tam publice  
25 quam private ipsa iustificant, satis indicant quod bellis  
consentiunt et ad ipsa excitant omissione vel opere.  
Aliter enim publicarent constanter pacem esse servan-  
dam, non obstante perdicionem temporalium mundani  
honoris vel presentis vite, propter premium inde se-

V. 30 quens. Tercio vero signum eiusdem est, quod a tem-

A 52<sup>a</sup> pore quo intro | ducti sunt fratres in ecclesia, inval-  
uerunt iurgia et facta paci contraria: quod cum factis  
apostatatarum indicat, quod ipsi non rogant efficaciter  
que paci sunt, sed nocte et die quamdiu apostatant  
35 continue iurgia seminant. Nam iuxta Cestrensem (libr. 7,  
cap. 24) fratres predicatorum inceperant iuxta annum  
domini 1200 sub Innocencio III<sup>o</sup> anno 6. Et post illos  
paulatim alii fratres inceperant; notantes vero cronicas  
possunt perpendere, quantum illo tempore turbabatur  
40 ecclesia, non solum inter seculares, sed inter sacerdotes,  
ut Romanos pontifices. Nec tunc incepit, sed tempore

*Seventh mark  
of apostasy:  
"sowing  
quarrels".*

*This is the  
characteristic of  
apostates.*

*If they sow  
apostasy,  
quarrels and  
discord must  
spring there-  
from.*

*And the devil  
is there with  
his angels,  
ready to foster  
the seed they  
sow.*

*A three-fold  
sign of this  
discord.*

*1<sup>st</sup> Each sect,  
while contrary  
to the others,  
is also divided  
within itself.*

*2<sup>nd</sup> Every  
warlike prince  
has one of these  
friars for his  
confessor; and  
they all excuse  
every war that  
takes place.*

*3<sup>rd</sup> Proof from  
history.*

*Ever since their  
rise in the  
Church, there  
have been  
perpetual  
quarrels.*

*In 1200, the  
Dominicans  
began; and the  
other friars  
soon after.*

*Troubles in the  
Church  
especially on  
account of the  
Roman Pontiffs,  
have greatly  
increased since  
then.*

7. inter *pro* necessario F. 14. patet *deest* F. 16. unitivam B; unitivam F. 35. Sestrensem ACD.

35. Higden's Polychronicon, l. VII, c. 33.

Sergii monachi, tempore Iuliani apostate. Et quando alie introducte sunt, factum est per eos magnum scisma et sectarum divisio in ecclesia militante. Nec dubium quin apostasia a symplici religione quam Christus instituit, sit in causa. Certissimum | itaque et notifican- B 62<sup>4</sup>  
dum est ecclesie, quod causa omnium istorum est contra religionem Christi cleri dotacio et sectarum privatarum, in quibus seminantur apostate, multiplicacio. Nec obest quod per illas sectas eveniunt ecclesie multa bona, quia nisi dyabolus sophistarum maximus in scola 10 sua comisceat vera falsis et bona malis, facta sua non haberent apparenciam credulitatis; et sic nullos vel paucos seduceret. Et hec ratio quare sic immiscent sophistice bona malis.

The Church should be told that the endowment of the clergy and the formation of particular sects is the cause of all these evils. No matter that good is done by them; if it were otherwise, no one would be deceived.

If any ask: How can it be known that they do more harm than good? The answer is: By faith and God's grace.

Some members of religious orders Wyclif calls his dearest sons; those are by no means apostates. They observe Christ's religion, and despise human observances.

Objection against the whole doctrine of sevenfold apostasy: That it is not founded on Scripture, but is a wresting of God's word.

Quod si queratur quomodo possunt ista discerni, cum 15 multi | et magni capitales ecclesie sunt in istis contrariis; dicitur quod fide, et gracia potuerunt hec discerni. Nam in fide scripture, prescindendo omnes adinventiones apocrifas, quiescit fidelis; in ipsa autem plane patet forma qua Christus sacerdotes suos instituit; a 20 qua declinando necesse est corpus ecclesie a religione Christi ruere. Ipsa enim tam sapienter et tam prudenter est posita, quod sub pena maximi anathematis non licet illam diminuere vel augere. Unde illi quos in religionibus expropriariis vocavi filios karissimos, non 25 sunt de dictis apostaticis; sed excelenter observantes illud bonum religionis Christi, quod dyabolus immiscuit cum tradicionibus adinventis, ut parvipendentes aut contempnentes tradiciones illas nisi de quanto subministrant atque facilitant ad observanciam legis dei; et 30 hii cavent tamquam venenum quod plus ponderent ritus adiectos quam legem dei et plus zelent pro statu private secte quam pro bono publico; quia tunc indubie forent apostate quos descripsi.

Sed obicitur quod dicta sententia de apostasia septem- 35 templici non est sententia de fide scripture spiritus sancti, sed heretice ficta potius | et extorta. Hic dicitur B 63<sup>4</sup>  
tur, quod sive fratres, sive papa vel angelus de celo perfecerit opus nefandum, in ista scriptura septemplici

1. Sergei F; *ib.* Iuliane C. 2. alie sexte F. 4. quin *deest* ABCD.  
6. causa istorum omnium malorum B. 8. apostatate B. 12. crudeli-  
tatis F. 13. immiscet ACDF. 15. Quod — discerni *deest* F.  
17. quod in F; *ib.* potuerunt ABF; *ib.* hoc B. 26. apostaticis AF.  
27. cum B. 28. et *pro* ut F. 30—32. et — legem dei *deest* ACI.  
36. de fide spiritus CD. 37. sancti *deest* F.



prefatum, tunc spiritus sanctus ordinavit in ea ad tu-  
 telam fidelium istum sensum; ideo non restat eius in-  
 A 53<sup>b</sup> probacio nisi probando efficaciter, quod dicte apo | stasie  
 non conveniunt sectis fratrum. Quo facto concedam  
 5 cum eis, quod spiritus sanctus non illos intenderat in  
 hoc loco. Et hec ratio quare locutus sum sic condi-  
 cionaliter, relinquens iudicium populo et toti ecclesie  
 si a fratribus ista fiunt; que si sint vera, videtur michi  
 quod est triplex remedium contra tales apostatas. Pri-  
 10 mum est quod scolastici, et specialiter clerici istorum  
 ordinum, detegant istorum apostatarum versucias, et  
 pulsent prelatos ecclesie pro remedio apponendo; se-  
 cundum quod temporales sunt instruendi ne tales apo-  
 statas contro legem Christi foveant. Fides enim dictat  
 15 quod tota tradicio sua que non est ex ewangelio Christi  
 Luc. est subdole contra Christum, ut patet Luce XI<sup>o</sup>. "Qui  
 XI, 23 non est mecum, contra me est". Et tertium remedium  
 in quo magis confido est quod populus subtrahat a  
 talibus temporale subsidium; non enim tantum fulcitur  
 20 eorum calliditas contra ecclesiam extorquendo ab ea  
 bona pauperum, sicut in religione possessionata, cuius  
 calliditas est diucius indurata. Sic igitur, tam in bonis  
 condicionibus quam in malis, hii in quibusdam posses-  
 sionatos religiosos superant et in aliis superantur. Et  
 25 ista dixerim teste deo ad utilitatem ecclesie et fratrum  
 commodum quo ad deum.

*Answer:* If any  
 have done the  
 evil therein  
 denounced the  
 Spirit has  
 warned us  
 against such.  
 Let them prove  
 that they have  
 not.  
 If guilty, the  
 remedy is:  
 1<sup>st</sup> that the  
 scholars and  
 clergy of these  
 orders beg the  
 Prelates to  
 destroy the evil;  
 2<sup>nd</sup> that the laity  
 be warned  
 against  
 favouring such  
 apostates;

3<sup>rd</sup> that the  
 people should  
 not sustain  
 them: the best  
 remedy of all.

*Conclusion:*  
 God taken to  
 witness that all  
 this was said  
 for the good of  
 the Church and  
 the Friars.

2. suorum fidelium BF. 6. hec *deest* F. 10. est *deest* F. 13. do-  
 mini temporales BF; *ib.* quod non *pro* ne F. 16. ut *deest* F. 20. in B.  
 21. sed *corrected* to sicut B; *ib.* bonis eius B. 22. est *deest* B. 23. in  
*deest* CD.

## CAPITULUM TERTIUM.

We have now  
to deal with the  
error  
concerning the  
Sacrament,  
because it goes  
together with  
apostasy.  
The Church  
is troubled by  
a lie,  
proceeding  
from these  
apostate  
'religious', who  
worship signs;  
for being in her  
second  
thousandth year,  
Satan is loosed.

*First attack on  
the Church.*  
The Church  
prays that this  
oblation may  
become *unto*  
*us*, Christ's  
body; not that  
the bread and  
wine be  
destroyed.  
This, says the  
man of sin, is a  
heresy, for God  
cannot make  
bread to be His  
body, but makes  
His body out  
of it.

*Refutation:*  
This is against  
Scripture; for  
since His  
ascension  
Christ  
assimilates  
nothing into  
His Body.

Quia error de eukaristia et error apostasie ut | plu-B 63<sup>b</sup>  
rimum se sequuntur, ideo pro | maiori declaracione A 53<sup>c</sup>  
utriusque materie, oportet parumper mixtim procedere.

Mendacium enim fictum a cultoribus signorum tam pro- 5  
prietarie quam expropriarie viventibus et specialiter  
in ista materia de eukaristia modo perturbat ecclesiam.

(Ideo ulterius notandum quod in secundo millenario  
matris nostre, quo solutus est sathanas ut dicitur  
Apok. XX.) Oportet per patrem mendacii et membra 10  
sua multiplicari mendacia, et per consequens infideli- Apoc.  
tates tam deo quam homini et peccata. Medium autem XX, 3  
quo dyabolus illudit ecclesie, est irreligiositas insignis;

et specialiter sacramentis, ut patet de sacramento  
eukaristie et penitencie. Non enim contentatur homo 15  
peccati, nisi in despectu trinitatis eructet blasphemiam.

Suggerit enim, quod usus ecclesie in imitacione fidei  
scripture sit summe hereticus, ut in canone misse docet  
ecclesia sacerdotes orare, "ut hanc oblacionem" scilicet  
panem et vinum, deus trinitas sic sanctificet, non ut 20  
destruatur omnino, sed "ut nobis corpus et sangwis  
fiat domini nostri Jesu Christi." Hoc, inquit, est summe  
hereticum; quia deus non potest facere panem et vinum  
esse carnem sui et sanguinem, sed de istis substanciis  
ita facit. Ecce dogma fidei scripture contrarium, cum 25  
deus post ascensionem de nullo facit partem suam, sed  
panem et vinum facit fore carnem suam et sanguinem  
sacramentaliter in figura.

Secunda antichristi perfidia inpugnat cantum ecclesie  
ex pravitate heretica, dum sic canit: 30

1. After the title, in red ink: Hic tractat de Eukaristia per magnum  
passum B. 7. isto modo C; ib. minus D. 11. multiplicare CD.  
29. blasfemia A; in marg. B.

1. The MS. of Trinity College, Dublin (here marked F) goes  
no further.



- A 53<sup>d</sup> "Verbum caro, panem verum  
Verbo carnem | efficit,  
Fitque sanguis Christi merum;  
Et si sensus deficit,  
5 Ad firmandum cor sincerum  
Sola fides sufficit."
- B 63<sup>e</sup> In quo | versu notantur tres catholice veritates: Prima,  
B. quod virtute verborum sacramentalium verbi dei fit panis  
verus caro Christi; secunda, quod eadem virtute fit  
10 vinum seu merum sanguis Christi, et tertia; quod sensus  
deficit in iudicando hoc solum esse panem et vinum,  
cum fides verborum Christi vere iudicat hoc esse corpus  
Christi et sanguinem modo suo.
- Tercia blasfemia nequissima Antichristi dicit quod  
15 quatuor ewangeliste, Paulus apostolus et Actus apostolorum  
in vocando hoc sacramentum regulariter panem  
aut vinum, dicunt de virtute sermonis verbum hereticum  
et blasfemum; cum deus non potest facere panem illum  
aut vinum esse carnem suam vel sanguinem, nisi se  
20 ipsum annihilet et se neget. Consideremus itaque cautelas  
dyaboli, quibus illudit ecclesie; docet enim omisso  
signato ad signa attendere, et negare predicationes  
signi de signato, ne forte pacis concordia per signatum  
ad sensum mysticum sit concepta. Sed seminando divisionem  
25 mirabilem, docet blasfeme divisionem inter  
accidens et suum subiectum, ut per illud mendacium  
introducatur divisio inter deum et hominem.
- Possunt autem fieri pro via veritatis alique rationes;  
primo sic, sicut spiritus sanctus dedit fidelibus sententiam  
30 fidei in scriptura, ita dedit eis formam verborum  
in quacunque lingua; sed spiritus sanctus regulariter  
A 54<sup>a</sup> vocat sacramentum | altaris panem et nunquam accidens,  
igitur fideles debent hoc observare. Argumentum patet  
ex hoc, quod aliter spiritus sanctus superflue dedisset  
35 fidem in linguis, nisi ille forent servande. Similiter  
B 63<sup>d</sup> aliqua forma verborum | est servanda; sed illa est  
potissima, igitur etc.
- Second attack.*  
The Church Hymn contains three catholic truths:
- 1<sup>st</sup>* That true bread becomes the flesh of Christ,  
the 2<sup>nd</sup> that wine becomes His blood,  
3<sup>rd</sup> that the sense fails.
- Third attack:*  
on the four Gospels, the Acts and St. Paul. They all use the expression 'bread' as a real thing; which according to Antichrist, is heresy. For God, he says, cannot without self-annihilation, make bread, remaining the same, to be His body. Thus, division everywhere: he separates accident from subject, and God from man. Reasons against this doctrine. The Sacrament ought to be called, not 'accidents', but bread, as the Holy Ghost calls it; or it would be a wrong or useless word.

16. realiter C. 23. in signato A; *ib.* fortis B. 25. blasfemie B.  
28. Possunt deest D; Nunc autem pro autem D. 33. servare B; *ib.*  
Assumptum B. 36. alia C.

1. Hymn *Pange lingua*, for Corpus Christi day; ascribed to Aquinas.

The words  
*Hoc, &c.*, either  
mean, Christ  
pointing to  
bread, or to  
accidents, or to  
anything, or to  
nothing; now,  
the three last  
alternatives are  
absurd, the  
authority of  
Scripture being  
null, unless it  
means what it  
says.

God cannot  
require any  
other faith of  
man, but that  
which He gave  
in the Bible.

You will  
nowhere find  
the Eucharist  
called an  
accident of the  
genus quantity.  
And therefore,  
we have not to  
admit what has  
not been  
revealed.

To say we  
must believe  
what is not to  
be found in  
Scripture is the  
arch-blasphemy  
of Antichrist.  
Saint Peter  
quoted against  
those 'lying  
masters, who  
will introduce  
sects of  
perdition' &c.

These are the  
words of Pope  
Peter.

And who are  
these 'lying  
masters'?

Similiter, aliter periret scripture sacre auctoritas,  
cum aliter posset fingi, quod bufo demonstratur, vel  
accidens quodcunque elegerint pro nomine istius: "hoc  
est corpus meum" vel quod nichil demonstratur, sicut  
multi fingunt hodie. Minor autem argumenti patet de 5  
sex locis quibus fit mencio de eukaristia in scriptura.  
Unde sancti sacerdotes primi millenarii etatis ecclesie,  
quando ligatus est sathanas, vocaverunt regulariter  
ipsum panem, licet in hoc infami millenario solucionis  
sathane, aliqui glozatores vocent sacramentum accidens, 10  
aliqui quantitatem et aliqui qualitatem, et sic de mille  
opinionibus in materia fidei, cum tamen secundum  
apostolum ad Ephes. IV<sup>to</sup> "una fides". Item repugnat Eph.  
IV, 5  
divine sapiencie atque clemencie, fidem requirere a  
sponsa sua vel homine, nisi quam dederit in altero 15  
duorum testamentorum; sed fidem primo exigit ante  
omnia alia opera vel veritates; igitur est in fide scrip-  
ture tamquam in per se fonte completo fidelibus qui-  
escendum. Sed volvat quicumque quam diligenter volu-  
erit rimas scripture, et nunquam inveniet quod sacra- 20  
mentum eukaristie sit accidens de genere quantitatis.  
Assertum patet ex hoc, quod repugnat iusticie divine  
requirere a famulo suo, quod nec dedit, nec ad illud A 54<sup>b</sup>  
solvendum talentum vel thesaurum aliquem adaptavit.  
Unde videtur, quod antichristus non posset in maiorem 25 D.  
blasfemiam prorumpere, quam quod oportet Christia-  
num aliquam fidem credere, que non est reperibilis in  
scriptura.

Unde de talibus | prophetavit ille propheta eximius sanc- B 64<sup>a</sup>  
tus Petrus, II<sup>a</sup> Petr. II<sup>o</sup>. "Fuerunt", inquit, "in populo 30  
pseudoprophete, sicut et in vobis erunt magistri mendaces II. Petr.  
qui introducent sectas perditionis, et eum qui emit eos II, 1-3;  
dominum negant; per quos via veritatis blasphemabitur; et 10, 17  
in avariciam fictis verbis de vobis negociabuntur. Au-  
daces, sibi placentes, sectas non metuunt introducere 35  
blasphemantes: Hii sunt fontes sine aqua etc." Ecce quod  
papa Petrus qui habuit cerciorem prophetiam quam  
vates legis veteris, prophetat futuros in ecclesia magi-  
stros mendaces, qui introducent sectas. Qui autem  
sunt magistri illi, nisi qui fingunt se habere claves 40

6. fit *deest* D; ib. mencio est B.

ib. vocavit B.

22. assumptum BCD.

34. nobis AB.

11. multis B.

24. adoptavit B.

39. sectas *deest* CD.

7. doctores B.

16. secundum B; ib. primo *deest* B.

29. eximius *deest* A.

8. sathan C;



- sciencie extra fidem scripture, in qua secundum Augustinum est omnis veritas. Hii autem introducunt sectas religionis private, ut mendaciter magnificent nomen suum; secundo hii negant Christum, cum eius pauperiem et eius conversacionem predicant tam verbo quam opere renuendam. Tercio hii blasphemant contra veritatem, cum dogmatisant scolam Christi esse diminutam in fide et solum pro brevi tempore esse observandam. Quarto ex avaricia ydolatra fingunt leges per quas A 54<sup>e</sup> negociantur quomodo subditos spo | liabunt. Et quinto audacter sed blasfeme introducunt sectas, quas ex confirmacione sua fingent in perfeccione excedere religionem, quam Christus instituit. Sed beatus Petrus prophetat eos ex defectu fidei scripture, ut fontes siccos 15 excidere et arescere. Fidelis igitur non debet credere in materia fidei fontibus sic siccatis.
- E. Item, si sine auctoritate scripture licet variare vo- B 64<sup>b</sup> cando sacramentum, quod ipsa | vocat panem, non panem sed quantitatem, vel aliam vanitatem (et non est 20 finis potencie sic glosantis), videtur quod totam scripturam sacram pari auctoritate poterit sic glosare et sic totam fidem scripture antiquam pervertere et novam inducere, ut totam historiam gestorum Christi negare ad literam et glossare ad suum oppositum: et sic de 25 aliis que in biblia inseruntur. Sic enim dicitur quendam pretendere se esse papam summum Christi vicarium et caput ecclesie, licet fuerit Christo contrarius et capitale membrum dyaboli, et sic possent fingi indulgencie et privilegia inaudita ac super istis leges 30 erigi et fingi censure summe horribiles, in omnes eis contrarios fulminande; et sic de ministris ecclesie a contrariis officiis nominandis; ut sicut apostaticus dicitur apostolicus, sic episcopus dicatur proditor divini gregis subdolos, et rector ille blasfemus qui est raptor 35 magis sacrilegus bonorum: et sic de cunctis officiis ecclesie et preceptis domini.
- A 54<sup>a</sup> Cum igitur hoc | dato sequerentur inconveniencia infinita, nec tollendum est argumentum per locum "A simili", non restat fideli nisi obstare principiis. Si enim 40 papa potest licite tollere sensum scripture, dicendo quod regulariter intelligit per panem quem ponit sacra-

Those who feign to have the key of science without Scripture; who deny Christ, denying His poverty and life; who blaspheme, when they teach that the school of Christ is of slight account, and who introduce sects which they say exceed in perfection the religion of Christ.

III. If it be allowed to call quantity, that which Scripture calls bread, all Scripture can be explained away likewise

Thus Christ's enemy and the Devil's friend may claim to be Pope.

And so on for the Church's ministers; if 'apostate' may stand for 'Apostolic', 'traitor' may stand for 'Bishop', and 'ravisher', for 'Rector'. There is no resisting the argument of analogy; so we must strive against the very beginnings.

6. veniendam D. 8. esse deest B. 15. excedere A; excidere deest B; ib. crescere pro arescere B. 17. Initial I in red. ink B; ib. vagare B; vocare D; vacare C; pro variare. 39. nec A.

If the Pope can  
change the sense  
of Scripture as  
to the Host,  
why not as to  
Christ's life?

IV. Arguments  
from tradition.  
The Holy  
Ghost used  
these terms that  
the catholic  
sense might be  
elicited  
therefrom;  
and there are  
in favour of  
this sense,  
Ambrose,  
Augustine,  
Jerome; doctors  
each of whom  
is worth a  
thousand of  
our present  
ones.  
Jerome, that  
great doctor,  
praised by  
Augustine,  
writes thus:  
"The bread that  
the Lord  
broke . . . was  
the body of  
Christ . . .  
which sense  
must be taken  
figuratively".  
And  
Augustine:

"The sacrament  
of Christ's body  
is Christ's body  
in a certain  
manner".

mentum non panem sed accidens, quare non potest  
conduci aliquis ad glossandum quod Christus non fecit  
opera que de ipso narrat ewangelium, sed assumpta  
humanitas? et multo magis de quolibet sensu scripture.  
Ewangelium enim est fides Christiani precipua; ipsum  
autem sophisticatum est et negatum, non secundum  
quamlibet eius partem, sed potissime secundum cor eius,  
quod | dixit veritas caput ecclesie dominus Jesus Christus, B 64<sup>r</sup>  
ut patet de isto: "Hoc est corpus meum; hoc est iste  
panis quem benedixi; et vobis omnibus ex hoc, ideo 10  
manducare precepi, quia *hoc est corpus meum*."

Unde creditur, quod spiritus sanctus ideo ordinavit F.  
istam notam cause enim ut eliciatur iste sensus catho-  
licus; unde allegavi sepe pro hoc sensu Ambrosium,  
Augustinum et Jeronimum doctores precipuos in primo 15  
millenario etatis ecclesie, quando ligatus est sathanas,  
pater mendacii; et quilibet eorum valet mille duodenas  
doctorum vel paparum sequencium, quando solutus est  
inimicus veritatis, seminans mendacia contraria scole  
Christi. Jeronimus enim fuit in fide scripture doctor 20  
precipuus, ut patet ex sanctitate vite sue, quam declarat  
Augustinus in epistola ad Cirillum; "Sanctitate dico  
iuncte cum dono noticie linguarum sibi dato et diutur-  
nitate | studii scripturarum." Scribit enim epistola ad A 55<sup>a</sup>  
Helbidiam de XII questionibus, questione 2<sup>a</sup>. "Nos", in- 25  
quit, "audiamus panem quem fregit dominus, deditque  
discipulis, esse corpus domini salvatoris, ipso dicente  
ad eos: Accipite et comedite; hoc est corpus meum,  
quod dictum oportet intelligi ad sensum tropicum."  
Unde Augustinus, epistola 12<sup>a</sup> ad Bonifacium. "Si", in- 30  
quit, "sacramenta quandam similitudinem rerum earum  
quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacra-  
menta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque  
eciam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut igitur se-  
cundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi 35  
corpus Christi est, et sacramentum sanguinis Christi  
sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est." Et

10. iam B. 13. cause enim ut omnes MSS. 19. legi; in margine,  
alia manu scole B. 34. ipsa ACD. 36, 37, et . . . Christi est deest D.

22. The only letter of Augustine to Cyril is spurious, and  
does not contain these words, as they stand. 25. Ad Hedi-  
biam Hier. Ep. CXX. Migne t. 22, p. 980. 30. Aug. Ep. XCVIII,  
ad Bonifacium, Migne t. 33, p. 364.



B 64<sup>a</sup> illud sacramentum describit expressius | sermone 55<sup>to</sup> And also:  
de verbis domini; ubi promittens se narraturum quid "this bread  
sit hoc sacramentum; "panis," inquit, "iste, quem videtis which you  
in altari sanctificatus per verbum domini dei corpus see . . . is the  
5 Christi est." Cum igitur hii duo sancti fuerunt in ex- body of Christ".  
ponendis scripture sancte misteriis doctores precipui, Now these two  
ut patet in confessione tocius ecclesie de oracionibus being such  
quas de ipsis animus (et patet distincione 2o) insane great doctors,  
videtur ipsos deserere et doctores hesternos in ista fide it were madness  
10 attendere. Talis igitur figurativa locutio fideli qui vo- to desert them,  
luerit intelligere scripturam sacram est precipue atten- and attend to  
denda. doctors of  
yesterday.  
We must notice  
that Scripture  
often speaks  
figuratively.

Unde Augustinus, super questionibus Levitici, capitulo 74, It is thus that  
G. exponens illud Levitici XVII. "Quid est", inquit, „quod Augustine  
A 55<sup>b</sup> prohibens sanguinem dicit: *Anima omnis carnis | san- explains the use  
guis eius est?*" et sequitur: "illud appellatur anima quod of blood for  
signat animam. Solet autem res que signat eius rei life.  
nomine, quam signat nuncupari, sicut scriptum est:  
Gen. XLI, 26 *Septem spice septem anni sunt*; non enim dixit: septem  
20 annos signant; et: *Septem boves septem anni sunt*; et multa  
I. Cor. huiusmodi. Et hinc est quod dictum est: *Petra autem*  
X, 4 *erat Christus*. Non enim dixit 'Petra signat Christum',  
sed tanquam hoc esset, quod utique per substantiam  
non erat, sed per figuracionem. Sic et sanguis qui  
25 propter vitalem quandam corpulenciam animam signat  
in sacramentis, anima dictus est". Et sic intelligitur  
dictum suum in epistola ad Bonifacium, quod "secundum  
quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus  
Christi est", et illum modum explicat Augustinus, non  
30 secundum substantiam, sed secundum significacionem.  
Ego autem dico hoc debere intelligi secundum quen-  
dam tropum vel figuram et non secundum ydempti-  
ficacionem vel naturam.

B 65<sup>a</sup> Et per ista potest intelligi dictum Damasceni | 4<sup>to</sup> John  
35 sentenciarum suarum, capitulo 85<sup>to</sup>, quando dicit: "Non Damascenus'  
enim typus panis et vinum corporis et sanguinis Christi; words rendered  
intelligible by  
this point  
of view.

4. domini deest BC. 5. 6. exponende B. ii. scripturam deest CD.  
18 occupari CD.

1. Aug. serm. CCXVII. Migne, t. 38, p. 1099. 8. Decr.  
Grat. 1<sup>a</sup> Pars, dist. XX, c. 1. 14. Aug. Quest. in Heptateuchum,  
lib. III, c. 57. Migne t. 34, p. 702. 27. Aug. Ep. XCVIII, ad  
Bonifacium. Migne, t. 33, p. 364. 35. Joh. Dam. De Fide  
Orthodoxa, lib. IV, c. 13. Migne, t. 94, p. 1147, series Graeca.

"The bread and wine are not a type . . . God forbid! but the very Deified Body of the Lord saying, This is my Body".  
This is exactly Wyclif's position.

For he says further that the bread and wine are joined to the body and blood of Christ.

Distinction between figures that prefigure, or *types*, and figures that require Christ's actual existence.

That is why he says "the bread is no type".

It were a crime to deny that the bread is the body of Christ.

It is changed into Christ's body, which alone must be considered by the faithful.

"A live coal", says Damascenus, "is not mere wood, but wood united with fire; so the bread is not mere bread, but bread united with Deity".

absit! sed ipsum corpus domini deificatum, ipsius domini dicentis: *Hoc meum est, non typus corporis, sed corpus et non tipus sangwinis, sed sangwis.*" Hic H. dicitur, quod inter omnes doctores iste Grecus asseruit expressius nostram sententiam, cum sic precedit ibidem, 5 quia consuetudo est hominibus aqua lavari et oleo ungi, quibus iuncta gracia spiritus sancti fit | lavacrum A 55<sup>9</sup> regenerationis; sic, quia consuetudo est hominibus panem comedere, vinum et aquam bibere, coniugavit deus ipsis sui ipsius deitatem et fecit ipsa corpus et 10 sanguinem sui ipsius; ubi patet expresse quod ipse vult panem, aquam et vinum esse corpus ipsius et sanguinem. Unde notandum quod alia est figura precedens temporaliter figuratum, sicut agnus typicus precesserat corpus Christi, et illud; quia non asseritur 15 in scriptura esse corpus Christi, sicut panis et vinum, qui ad esse suum sacramentale requirunt corpus Christi precedere et Christus dicit ipsa vere esse carnem suam et sanguinem. Ideo dicit doctor ipsa non esse typum corporis Christi, hoc est figuram ante signatum vel 20 figuram distanciam corporis Christi, sed ipsummet corpus Christi et figuram eius presenciam. Unde horrendum foret fidelem negare panem esse corpus Christi vel post consecracionem naturam panis secundum denominationem corporis principalissimam remanere, cum 25 convertitur in corpus Christi; ad quod fidelis, suspendendo consideracionem aliam, quantum sufficit debet attendere. Et patet ista sententia ex textu doctoris. Unde statim post scribitur: "Carbo autem simplex lignum non est, sed unitum igni, ita et panis communionis | B 65<sup>b</sup> non panis simplex est sed unitus deitati." Et paucis interpositis: "Spiritus", inquit, "vivificans est caro domini; quia ex vivificativo spiritu concepta est. Quod enim generatum est ex spiritu, spiritus est; hoc autem dico | non destruens corporis substanciam, sed vivi- A 55 ficativum et divinum eius manifestare volens"; et sequitur in fine: "Omnes enim unum corpus sumus, quia ex uno pane assumimus, quem ad modum ait apostolus; antitipa autem, id est, refigurativa futurorum dicuntur, non ut non encia vere corpus et sanguis Christi; sed 40

1. ipsius verbis B.  
11. expressissime B.  
28. ex vivificato CD.  
40. ut *pro* non ut D.

5. subdit BCD. 7. sit CD.  
20, 21. vel figuram *deest* B.  
30, 31. vivificatum CD.

10. divinitatem B.  
22. principalem B.  
39. anticipa ABD.



quoniam nunc quidem participamus ipsam Christi deitatem, tunc autem intellectualiter per solam considerationem."

I. Ex istis tribus dictis huius magni philosophi patent tria: primo, quod videtur dicere panem qui est sacramentum non esse pure panem, sed cum hoc corpus Christi, sicut carbo ignitus ignis dicitur; et illud nomen secundum notabilem excellenciam debet post consecrationem, sopito priori nomine, sibi competere, sicut, rege et scurra existentibus in eodem loco et habitu, ministri debent, scurra postposito, ad regem attendere. Secundo patet quod loquitur tropice, quando dicit, quod caro Christi est spiritus, licet substantia carnis vere substernitur. Et tercio patet quod exponit se ipsum de tipo vel antitipo, quod est figura futurorum, non ut sacramentum altaris; quia figure legis veteris non sunt corpus Christi, sicut est panis consecratus, cum Christus nunquam dixit de agno tipico: "Hoc est corpus meum." Quod si dixisset, fidelis pari auctoritate concederet quod ille agnus est corpus Christi. Unde istum modum quo panis fit corpus Christi, dicit Damascenus esse credibilem, cum veritas illud dicit, sed non ulterius queribilem.

A 56<sup>a</sup> Tercium | testimonium preter Augustinum et Jeronimum | est testimonium magni Ambrosii in libro suo

K. de *Sacramentis*; et ponitur in canone de consecratione, distincione 2<sup>a</sup> (capitulo, *Panis est in altari*) ubi probat primo multipliciter, quod panis potest esse corpus Christi per miracula veteris testamenti. Ideo dicit, quod virtute verborum Christi, panis fit corpus Christi. In quo dicto, sicut loquitur indubie de pane materiali, ita loquitur de faccione figurativa vel sacramentali.

In isto autem dicta huius sancti oportet discredere doctoribus nostris et glose ordinarie decretorum, cum ipsi glozant dicto sanctorum per suum oppositum; ut gloza ordinaria dicit super illo verbo Ambrosii: "Panis est in altari", quod dictum huius sancti est impossibile; quod si sit verum, cum sit materia fidei, indubie foret hereticum, et sic maior pars fidei scripture. Secundo dicit eadem glossa ordinaria, super capitulo *Sacer-*

Three things are therefore made clear: 1<sup>st</sup> Damascenus says that the body of Christ is present with the bread.

2<sup>nd</sup> That when he speaks of Christ's body being *spirit*, he uses a figure.

3<sup>rd</sup> That, as to the type and the antitype, the latter was only a figure of the future.

Christ tells us that bread is His body; so we must believe it, not enquiring how.

Testimony of Ambrose, who proves that bread can be Christ's body.

As he speaks of material bread he speaks of a figurative or sacramental 'becoming'. But we must beware of the glosses that explain this Saint in a wrong sense. Many instances of this; they deny some of his writings to be genuine, make him say that the Sacrament has no weight, &c.

25. suo deest B. 38. unum pro verum B.

39. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, dist. II, c. 30.

*dotum*, quod sacramentum non est ponderosum; et per idem nec quantum nec quale: et cum sit manifeste sensibile, patet quod omnimoda foret quantitas et qualitas in abstracto. Tercio dicit super capitulo *Timorem*, quod nichil demonstratur pro nomine in 5 verbis sacramentalibus; et tunc indubie sacerdos nichil plus conficit quam pica, quia requiritur ad confeccionem pronominis signacio, et sacerdotis recta intencio. Quarto dicit, super capitulo *Non iste panis*, quod corpus Christi non transiet gulam suam; et indubie, nisi corpus 10 Christi sit ad omnem partem sui intrinsecam, dampnabitur tamquam obstinatus hereticus. Et sic dubitat, si aranea tangat eucharistiam; utrum remaneat corpus Christi; et sic de multis quorum opposita oportet fidelem credere. Ideo ipso abiecto qui dicit papam posse 15 dispensare contra apostolum, alius magister in materia fidei est querendus.

As the Pope's word cannot prevail against the Gospel, we must seek another Master.

9. non est iste B.

8. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, dist. II, c. 56.



## CAPITULUM QUARTUM.

- B 65<sup>a</sup> | Quarto sic: non per se, sed per accidens, est canonisacio fidei vel heresis condempnacio in ore cuiuslibet Christiani; sed omne per accidens est reducibile ad aliquid per se; igitur oportet dare aliquod exemplum  
 5 dirigens papam vel alium quemcumque ad taliter iudicandum. Quod non est fingendum, nisi fides scripture. Maior patet ex hoc, quod multi pape erraverunt in fide, et quilibet illorum potuit magis oberrasse; cum non sit plus confirmatus, quam Lucifer vel Machomet;  
 10 sicut oportet fidelem credere qui non confitetur ipsum esse hominem peccati, elevatum super omne quod dicitur deus. Oportet igitur dare pape sic flexibili aliquod fundamentum in istis actibus cui ut veritati immobili innitatur. Cum igitur iuxta fidem Christus dedit  
 15 duo testamenta fidelibus, tamquam medium sufficiens pro hoc fine, et secundum apostolum II<sup>a</sup> Thim. II<sup>a</sup> ipse deus verax est et "se ipsum negare non potest", videtur quod in isto fundamento fidelibus est instandum; aliter enim posset papa presumere canonisare  
 20 ysagogas Porphirii et predicamenta Aristotelis, dampnando ewangelium tamquam hereticum: quod quidam  
 A 56<sup>e</sup> putant contigisse de facto: Nam in potencia pape statuisset credendum est ut fidem catholicam, quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens sine subiecto. Et fides  
 25 scripture cum beato Augustino dicit quod est naturaliter panis sanctificatus et figurative vel alio modo incognito corpus Christi. Si igitur oportet fidelem credere ut fidem catholicam, quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens sine subiecto, et Porphirius et Aristoteles in isto  
 30 verissime ac pertinentissime laborarunt, oportet in isto  
 B 66<sup>e</sup> canonisare sentencias suas. Sequitur enim: | Sacra-

No Christian can rule faith or condemn heresy by his mere affirmation: Therefore we must give a rule to direct the Pope in his judgments. Whoso has erred in fact, and can err in principle, cannot judge of faith by himself: but such is the case for the Popes.

A sure foundation is the Bible, given by the true God.

Otherwise, the Pope might declare the Isagoge of Porphyry and Aristotle's Categories to be inspired;

if so, these writers who have said much about accidents and subjects, are above Scripture.

4. ad aliquod B. 11. peccatò B. 12. populo B. 16. fieri B.  
 20. per synagogas B. 23. est deest AC.

The sacrament is an accident without its subject; therefore it is equally subject and accident.

If the antecedent is *de fide*, so is the consequent. Now this is just the doctrine of Porphyry and Aristotle.

But "subject" has three meanings: subject by predication, subject by change, and subject by veneration; as in this text: "Be subject to every human creature for God's sake."

Porphyry and Aristotle, though great philosophers, have nothing to do with explaining an article of faith.

And many persons of note say that what we see after the consecration is an accident without subject; not knowing what they mean.

mentum altaris est accidens sine subiecto; igitur tam accidens quam subiectum est, sed antecedens oportet quemlibet fidelem ut fidem credere atque cognoscere: igitur et consequens. Oportet igitur ad istos duos autores recurrere. Multi enim blaterant in ista materia 5 voces proprias de subiectis et accidentibus, ignorantes; ponit enim Porphirius quinque esse universalia, scilicet genus, speciem, differenciam, proprium et accidens. Illud autem quintum universale sic describit. "Accidens est, quod adest et abest preter subiecti corruptionem." 10 Sed quantum ad subiectum (quod oportet fidelem vigilantius cognoscere) dividit Aristoteles ens principale in B. quatuor ista membra. "Eorum," inquit, "que sunt, aliqua dicuntur de subiecto, et non sunt in subiecto, ut universalia de genere substantie; aliqua autem dicuntur 15 de subiecto et sunt in subiecto, ut universalia de genere accidentis; aliqua vero non dicuntur de subiecto, sed sunt in subiecto, ut singularia de genere accidentis; quarto autem sunt | aliqua que nec dicuntur de subiecto A 56<sup>4</sup> nec sunt in subiecto, ut substantie singulares." Sed 20 oportet fidelem ultra cognoscere, quod triplex est subiectum: scilicet predicatione ut loquitur Aristoteles ibidem, mutacione ut loquuntur philosophi de subiecto motus, et veneracione, ut loquitur beatus Petrus, I<sup>a</sup> I. Petr. II, 13 Petr. II<sup>o</sup>. "*Subiecti* estote omni humane creature propter 25 deum"; et pertinet theologis loqui de tali subiecto. Quamvis autem Aristoteles et Porphirius dicant multas necessarias veritates, nunquam tamen credidi expectasse diem in quo ille articulus fidei ab Aristotele et Porphirio indigeat declarari. Et revera multi et 30 magni blaterant ut articulum fidei credendum, quod sacramentum altaris oculo corporali visum post consecracionem sit accidens | sine subiecto; et tamen nec B 66<sup>b</sup> concipiunt sufficienter ad fidem ipsum accidens, nec subiectum. Minus autem mala foret ista heresis, si cum 35 hoc admitterent fidem scripture, et sine ypocrisi palam detegerent heresim, quam sic fingunt. Modo autem C. dicunt quod scriptura dicens quod panis sit corpus

2. omnem B. 4. ergo de fide B. 6. substancius B. 20. nec deest D. 33. ut *pro* nec B.

9. Πορφυρίου Εισαγωγή. Συμβεβηκός δέ ἐστιν, ὃ γίνεται καὶ ἀπογίνεται χωρὶς τῆς τοῦ ὑποκειμένου φθορᾶς. 13. Ἀριστ. Κατηγορίαι. Τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν καθ' ὑποκειμένον τινὸς λέγεται, ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ δὲ οὐδενί ἐστιν κ. τ. α.



- Luc. Christi est impossibilis; ut quando ewangelium dicit  
 XXIV, Luc. XXIV, quod cognoverunt Christum "in fraccione  
 35 panis", qui panis fuit indubie sacramentum eukaristie,  
 glossatores pervertunt sensum spiritus sancti; hii, quod  
 5 non intelligit panem sanctum sed usuaalem, quem fregit  
 tamquam attentus figure levitatis, ac si foret scissus  
 cultello acutissimo. Alios tamen panes scimus Christum  
 precepisse apostolis dare populo ad edendum; ut patet  
 A 57<sup>a</sup> de duobus | miraculosis conviviis. Math. VI et VIII, quibus  
 10 Christus de paucis panibus pavit populum in deserto.  
 Non enim decet autorem vite benedicere, frangere, et  
 dare panem suis discipulis ad edendum, nisi fuerit  
 panis sanctus. Unde Augustinus in libro sermonum  
 sermone 61 pro feria secunda Pasche (et ponitur de  
 15 consecracione distincione II<sup>a</sup>. "*Non omnis panis*"): "*Mementote,*" inquit, "*carissimi, quemadmodum dominus*  
*Jesus ab eis quorum oculi tenebantur, ne illum agnos-*  
*cerent, in fraccione panis voluit reagnosci.*" "*Non,*"  
 inquit, "*omnis panis, sed accipiens benedictionem*  
 20 *Christi, fit corpus Christi.*" Ideo illi fingunt formam  
 verborum ewangelii esse impossibilem; sed sic deberet  
 intelligi: "*cognoverunt eum in fraccione accidentis,*"  
 ut puta qualitatatis vel quantitatis, que non poterit esse  
 B 66<sup>a</sup> panis. Et ista videtur glossa extraordinaria decretorum. |  
 25 Sic igitur in penam peccati cecatur ecclesia, quod  
 vix in tota Anglia invenies duo capitula vel prelatos  
 D. qui sciant quid sit sacramentum altaris. Sciunt autem  
 eorum ministri opponere ordinandis de numero sacra-  
 mentorum, et quomodo sacramentum altaris differt ab  
 30 aliis; sed cum ipsimet nesciunt quid sit illud, patet  
 quod nesciunt distinguere ipsum ab aliis. Querit enim  
 secularis ex naturali ingenio, si debet credere utrum  
 illud album, rotundum, et aliter accidentatum, sit corpus  
 Christi; et coacti respondere ad illam questionem sim-  
 35 pliciter dicunt quod non est corpus Christi, sed ac-  
 cidens sine subiecto; quia per idem, ut arguunt, que-  
 A 57<sup>a</sup> libet eius | particula foret idem corpus Christi, et per  
 consequens quilibet pars hostie foret idem cuilibet; et  
 sic hostia foret omnino indivisibilis, sine parte. Et

They say that  
 "to know Christ  
 in the breaking  
 of bread"  
 refers, not to  
 the Sacrament,  
 but to common  
 bread.

But then He  
 would not have  
 given it to His  
 disciples with  
 His own hands;  
 the Apostles  
 distributed  
 common bread  
 among the  
 multitudes.

The sense  
 would then be:  
 "They knew  
 him in the  
 breaking of the  
 accidents."  
 In punishment  
 of our sins the  
 Church is  
 blinded on this  
 point.

The Priests do  
 not know what  
 they mean.  
 "Is that white  
 round thing  
 which I see,  
 Christ's body?"  
 asks a layman.  
 "No," they  
 answer; "it is  
 an accident":  
 for there are  
 parts in what  
 you see, and  
 if it were  
 Christ's body  
 there would be  
 none."

1. unde D. 11. docet C. 13. in deest B. 17. oculi deest B.  
 18. recognosci B. 25. enim pro igitur B. 30. tamen D. 34. Christi  
 deest D.

15. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, dist. II, c. 61. Aug. Serm. CCXXXIV  
 (Migne, t. 38, p. 1116).

habito per sacerdotem, quod non sit corpus Christi, querit laycus naturali ingenio, quid igitur est, substantia vel accidens, caro, vel piscis? Et hic stabat Johannes. Michi autem videtur quod secunda divisio est sufficiens, cum sit caro, quia caro Christi. 5

They say we must not examine.

Let them rather grant that they know neither what distinguishes this Sacrament nor even the number of the Sacraments. For the question "What?" precedes: "How many?" and "of what quality?"

Men and mice knew what it was before consecration. After, this knowledge ought to be clearer, not more obscure. A shrew-mouse will distinguish it from iron, after its fashion. Shall we say that God enlightens it, and denies judgment to man?

Again, a curate gives the communicant a consecrated host.

But does he know what he has given him? If not, he gives his parishioner "that which he knows not".

Illi autem qui eligunt secundam partem divisionis prime fingunt ad excusandum excusaciones in peccatis, quod non debet queri quid sit hoc sacramentum, cum ipsi bene examinati hoc nesciunt. Sed oportet eos primo dicere, quod nesciunt distincionem huius sacramenti ab aliis, et per consequens nec numerum sacramentorum, nec aliquam passionem; nam questio "quid est" presupponitur ad duas alias questiones. Secundo, tales nimis ostendunt suam ignoranciam et defectum, cum cocus corporis non admittitur nisi cognoverit quidditatem cibi corporei quem ministrat; quanto magis cocus anime quo ad cibum in quo iacet infinitum maius periculum! Nec valet dicere quod E. corpus Christi est ibidem; tum quia hoc ignoratur, tum etiam quia hoc non queritur, cum scitur divinitatem esse infinitum verius et infinitum excellencius ad quemlibet eius punctum. Tercio, tam homo quam mures sciverunt ante consecracionem, quid sit illud; et per consecracionem et assistenciam tanti luminis non extinguitur prior noticia; ergo post debet sciri clarius, quid sit illud quod sacerdos consecravit. Sorex enim A 57<sup>c</sup> scit modo suo distingvere illud a lamina ferri vel alterius, quod non optat sic edere; et dicere quod illuminat sic vermem et negat iudicium sensus humani, in tanto miraculo foret nimis magna blasfemia. 30

Quarto, patet quod oportet curatum concedere, quod ministravit communicato suo hostiam consecratam, et per consequens aliquam hostiam dedit sibi; et per consequens oportet dare cumparibus, quod "hoc" dedit sibi; et curatus qui non intelligeret proposicionem illam quam sibi concedit, foret nimius ydiota. Concessa igitur proposicione, quero quid demonstrat per hoc subiectum "hoc". Si scit, tunc oportet quod sciat quid est illa hostia; si nescit, tunc nescit quid dedit subdito, vel quid ut sic adoratur; sed ut Samaritanis infidelior, de quibus Joh. IV, adoraret infideliter "illud". Joh. IV, 22

3. aut B. 5. quia caro deest B. 10. docere B. 23. post B. 24. 25. et — clarius in marg. A; deest CD. 33. ostiam AB. 38, 39. si — hostia deest ACD. 40. aderat B.



quod nescit". Et illa communis ficticia qua dicitur  
 quod sacramentum eukaristie sit accidens sine subiecto,  
 est nimis heretica; quod autem non sit accidens patet  
 alibi; et quod non sit sine subiecto, patet, primo, ex  
 5 hoc quod tunc est sine aliquo subiecto, et per con-  
 sequens tunc non habet deum vel humanitatem Christi  
 ad quemlibet eius punctum; quia utrumque istorum  
 necessario est subiectum: deitas, relacioni rationis, et  
 B 67<sup>a</sup> humanitas omni | generi accidentis. Nec impediunt illa  
 10 analogice implicancia relacionem descensum a termino  
 stante mobiliter, ut sequitur: Petrus est sine substantia  
 A 57<sup>a</sup> vel accidente; B est substantia | vel accidens: igitur  
 Petrus est sine B. Nec dicit subiectum relacionem  
 expressius quam substantia, vel accidens; igitur est par  
 15 ratio inferrendi. Nec est dictum illud auctoritas scrip-  
 ture quam oportet ex fide concedere et glosare. Item,  
 ipsum sacramentum et quelibet eius particula est  
 subiectum aliis accidentibus: igitur ipsum non est sine  
 subiecto secundum aliquam eius partem. Et idem patet  
 20 ex hoc, quod qualitas sensibilis est sacramentum, ut  
 patet ex diffinitione sacramenti; et ipsa non est sine  
 subiecto, cum subiectatur, ut inquirunt, in quantitate:  
 et ipsa quantitas non est per se illud sacramentum;  
 tum quia nulla quantitas potest per se taliter acciden-  
 25 tari, ut accidentatur hostia; tum etiam, quia nulla  
 quantitas eadem in numero potest maiorari vel mi-  
 norari, sicut videmus hostiam transmutari.

Item, si sacramentum sit sine subiecto suo, tunc est  
 sine supposito subiecto sibi; et cum sit verum corpus  
 30 Christi, sequitur quod omnis Christianus non est  
 subiectus corpori Christi et sic Christo; consequens  
 impossibile, ad minimum pro beatis in patria. Ymo cum  
 sacramentum sit plene sicut debet esse, sequitur quod  
 debet esse sine subiecto sibi, et per consequens nullus  
 35 Christianus debet sibi subici, contra quam blasphemiam  
 I. Petr. II, 13 mandat beatus Petrus: "Subiecti estote omni humane  
 creature propter deum." Si, inquam, omni humane  
 creature debemus subici, et corpus Christi sit humana  
 creatura precipua, quia Christus, sequitur quod sibi  
 40 debemus subici. Non est igitur catholicum predicare,  
 B 67<sup>b</sup> quod nemo debet esse subiectus | eukaristie, quia licet  
 A 58<sup>a</sup> nimis pauci sint debite | sibi subiecti, post seminationem

What a heresy  
 to call the  
 Eucharist an  
 absolute  
 accident!  
 Heresy of  
 calling the  
 Eucharist 1<sup>st</sup>  
 an accident, 2<sup>nd</sup>  
 without subject.  
 1<sup>st</sup> point proved  
 elsewhere;  
 2<sup>nd</sup> if no subject,  
 no substance; if  
 no substance,  
 no God, and no  
 manhood of  
 Christ in any of  
 its parts.

This doctrine  
 is not a  
 Scripture text  
 that must be  
 admitted and  
 explained.  
 The sacrament  
 is the subject of  
 all the other  
 accidents; so it  
 is not quite  
 without a  
 subject.

Again, the  
 sacrament is the  
 body of Christ;  
 but the  
 sacrament is  
 without subject,  
 therefore the  
 body of Christ  
 is without a  
 subject.  
 It follows that  
 no Christian is  
 subject to  
 Christ.

huius heresis, omnes tamen Christiani debent esse sibi subiecti.

*Objection:* You equivocate as to the senses of the word 'subject'.

*Answer:* No. The faithful ought to have the signification given by Peter more in their minds than that of heathens.

This doctrine is therefore a useless fiction, except to show off the treacheries of the leech's disciples.

The leech has two daughters, simoniacal heretics and traitors.

And the land cannot rest, until purged of such.

It is the Friars' fault: hardly one of them raises his voice against this evil.

They do all they can to become confessors of princes,

but deceive the princes whose confessions they hear;

and thus they lead the kingdom astray.

If they loved their penitents they would labour for their salvation.

Doing the contrary, they are traitors.

Et si dicatur quod equivocatur in "subiecto" domini G. contestor et suam ecclesiam, quod subieccio beati Petri debet esse fideli usitacior quam subieccio Por-5 phirii vel alterius ethnici. Loquendo eciam ut ipsi loquuntur, quodlibet singulare est subiectum predicationis; quelibet eciam ostia consecrata est subiectum transmutacionis, cum potest ferri de loco ad locum; potest eciam per se solam descendere et potest putre-10 fieri et pulsione, traccione, veccione et vertigine transmutari. Ideo non videtur istam ficticiam introductam de quidditate hostie consecrate valere, nisi ut in penam peccati illudat ecclesie; licet per accidens iuvat ad manifestandum fallacias proditorias discipulorum san-15 guisuge. Sanguisuge enim due sunt filie in avaricia stabilite, dicentes Affer, Affer, scilicet symoniace heretici, et proditores veritatis et regni. De symoniace hereticis, patet in tractatu *De symonia*, capitulo 1<sup>o</sup> et infra. Nec dubium fideli, quin impossibile est regnum esse stabile 20 atque pacificum, nisi de illis hereticis fuerit expurgatum.

Et licet maior pars regni fuerit ista heresi viciata, vix unum fratrem invenies qui audeat contra istud periculum dicere unum verbum. Quomodo igitur non sunt ex consensu dampnabiles et regni (quod plus pon-25 derant hodie) infidelissimi proditores. Item, procurant se fieri regum, principum, dominorum | secularium et A 58<sup>b</sup> dominarum omnimode confessores; | et tamen non ob-B 67<sup>a</sup> stante quod sint custodes anime, nec cognoscunt cibum eukaristie quem propinant, sed ignorancia cecati sunt 30 in ydiotarum capitulo plus quam illi; nec dicunt vel peccati gravedinem, ut prudentes medici, et defensores regni, ac adiutores dei; sed cecis promissionibus absolucionum et falsis ac fictis sanacionibus cicatricum, decipiunt confessos prodicione nimis aspera; et sic 35 regnum. Item, si amarent confessos, ut simulant, et H. salutem anime sue plus quam favorem mundanum, honorem aut questum, ipsi laborarent, aliis dimissis, circa ea que utilia media sunt ad illam: sed cum faciunt omnino contrarium, manifeste convincitur, quod 40

6. vel Aristotelis vel B.

8. hostia CD.

11. uncione CD.

17. *second* after *in marg.* A; *deest* CD.

25, 26. ponderatur ACD.

29. sicut B.

31. idiotarum et laycorum BCD.

33. eciam B.

37. so-

lium B. 39. utilior B.



- sunt proditores principum, populi, et regnorum. Quis enim foret pater spiritualis regis titulo confessionis, videndo eum tanquam maniacum precipitanter currere ad abissum, qui non secundem possibilitatem suam 5 mitigaret maniam et principem a puteo revocaret? Multo magis salvaret animam ab inferno. Modo autem debet constare cunctis fidelibus quod regum officium foret precipue heresim symoniacam de regnis suis extingwere; et tamen fratres, confessores principum, 10 videndo confessos suos per heresim istam currendo ad infernum defendere et fovere, non laborant ad destructionem huius pestis consulere; sed student quomodo A 58<sup>e</sup> in se ipsis possent | pingvem episcopatum | perquirere; B 67<sup>4</sup> et sic utrimque ad enervacionem ecclesie heresim 15 symoniacam adaugere. Numquid credimus tales esse proditores regni? Constat quod sic, cum secundum Augustinum ut alias diffuse exposui, rex et regnum in virtutibus et viciis sibimet reciproce, ut plurimum, correspondent. Totum igitur regnum debet contra tales 20 pseudoprophetas insurgere, nec fictionem mendacii ab ipsis recipere. Si enim fingunt quod non possunt talem infidelitatem in confesso suo extingwere, quare nolunt secundum formam ewangelii obstinatum talem deserere; consumpcio enim morosa bonorum regni in consorcio 25 talis desperati facit tales apostatas ex consensu esse participes mali sui.

Would any confessor of the king, seeing him rushing to an abyss, not try to stop him?

And the abyss of Hell is worst of all.

But instead of crushing this heresy they only try to get into fat bishopries.

This is flat treason: the king and his kingdom being related for good or for ill.

If they say that they cannot destroy this heresy, let them give up their charges.

2. familias ACD; *ib.* et regis B. 7. Christi B. 14. utrumque BD; *ib.* curacionem CD. 15. esse *dees* B. 16. regni *deest* B. 17. et ACD. 20. et CD.

## CAPITULUM QUINTUM.

Objections  
brought  
forward and  
refuted.  
Grosseteste's  
opinion on the  
Eucharist:  
That the many  
sensible parts  
are united in  
One;  
the sensible  
parts of the  
bread, in the  
unity of Christ's  
body; of wine,  
in that of His  
blood;  
the former,  
having us  
subsistence by  
themselves,  
are yet not the  
accidents of  
Christ's body.  
Others use like  
expressions,  
which require  
explanation to  
avoid absurdity.  
They probably  
mean that the  
accidents of  
bread are in  
the thoughts of  
the faithful,  
while its  
substance is  
absent.  
Instances as to  
Time, the  
Universal, and  
the Sensible;  
each of which,  
to exist,  
depends on  
Mind.

Sed contra dicta arguitur per dominum Linconiensem super capitulo III<sup>o</sup> *Ecclesiastice ierarchie*, ubi sic loquitur: "Assumentes sensibilibiter partita et multa, non vere profiterentur communicatores, nisi ipsa multa in aliquo unirentur; uniuntur autem ea multa in que dividitur panis consecratus in unitate veri corporis Christi, et ea multa in que dividitur calix in unitate sanguinis ipsius. Et forte dicuntur ea multa, que sensibilibiter multis distribuuntur, fieri, seu esse in hiis; quia iste sensibiles forme non habent alias subsistencias ipsas in esse tunc supportantes; non enim est tunc sub forma panis aut vini materialis substantia panis aut vini. Nec tamen sunt ille forme sensibiles in corpore et sanguine Christi, ut in sub | iectis ab eis denominatis." Et eandem B 68<sup>a</sup> sententiam dicit | Hugo de sancto Victore, Petrus Lum- A 58<sup>a</sup> bardus et alii moderni doctores concorditer. Hic sepe dixi, quod presumptuosa temeritas foret scandalizando imponere impossibile istis doctoribus, dum possunt aliunde evidenter gloriari. Ideo sepe dixi tanquam probabile, quod ipsi intellexerant accidentia per se esse in actu consideracionis fidelum, dum panis et vini quidditas quoad consideracionem huiusmodi sit sopita.

Sic enim loquuntur philosophi quos ipsi videntur sequi in verbis, "quod tempus, universale, et sensibile, non habent esse in actu, nisi per animam"; ut, per consideracionem anime, cognoscatur tempus secundum rationem qua mensurat motum tamdiu post et ante in motu. Universale etiam, secundum rationem qua communicatur multis eius suppositis, et sensibile secundum rationem qua est reducibile ad actum sentiendi. Sic

1. Capitulum deest ABD.

9. sanguis pro calix . . . sanguis AB.  
communicate CD.

5. confitentur AB; *ib.* ipsa via CD.

23. modi deest B.

31. qua



est de sacramento secundum rationem qua signum; quidditas enim panis aut vini quoad illud sopita est et ratio accidencium per se sensibilibus expergeficit animam ut consideret sacramentum actualiter tanquam signum. Sed sicut universale sensibile et tempus non eo minus habent esse naturale, licet esse cognitum secundum rationem qua huiusmodi sit suspensum, sic quodammodo est de eucharistia.

Thus also the esse of any sign as a sign depends upon the mind that knows it as such. But this does not exclude an independent natural esse.

B. Unde pro isto sensu Linconiensis est primo textus beati Dionysii quem exponit; ipse enim vocat regulariter sacramentum panem et nunquam accidens, sicut faciunt apostoli, quibus fuit iste sanctus contemporaneus. Unde vocat Thimoteum cui scribit librum illum propter iuventutem puerum. Secundo moveret quod iste doctor

In favour of this rendering is St. Dionysius, who calls the Sacrament 'bread'.

A 59<sup>a</sup> vocat | sacramentum regulariter panem, sicut autor |  
B 68<sup>b</sup> quem exponit. Non igitur debet presumi, quod tam subtilis logicus sit ita recenter contradictorius sibi ipsi. Nec movet, quod ipse non vocat sacramentum secundum naturam vel substantiam panem, sed simpliciter panem, quia fides nostra vocat salvatorem nostrum Jesum et non exprimit eum sub nomine substantie hominis vel nature, et tamen fidelis credit, quod Christus vere sit substantia hominis vel natura et non fantasma accidentis, ut infideles gariunt.

Why suppose him to be inconsistent?

He does not indeed say 'the substance of bread, but 'bread'.

But neither does our faith call Jesus the 'substance of man', but 'man'.

25 Tercio movet, quod iste doctor approbative recitat super prima ratione capituli 3<sup>ii</sup> beati Dionysii, quod sacramentum illud est caro Christi. "Est," inquit, „eucharistia secundum beatum Ignacium caro salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi pro peccatis nostris passa, que imbecilles infirme accipiunt." Sacramentum itaque vocat panem consecratum et corpus Christi, non accidens.

And he calls the Sacrament 'the consecrated bread' and 'the body of Christ'; not 'an accident'.

C. Unde ad hoc quod fructuose communicemus in hoc sensibili sacramento, oportet nos reduci ad triplicem unionem. Primo, oportet nos multos fieri unum corpus

To communicate fruitfully we must be united in a threefold manner.

35 Christi, hoc est, unum membrum sponse Christi, ut I. Cor. dicit apostolus Cor. X; secundo, oportet, quod multitudo hostiarum reducat ad unum corpus Christi, sic quod quotquot sunt ostie vel in quocunque partes sunt divise, omnes et singule sunt idem corpus Christi; 40 et tercio omnia illa sacramenta sensibilia, suspensa consideratione de quidditate substrate substantie, redu-

1<sup>st</sup> We, being many, must become one body of the Church.

2<sup>nd</sup> The multitude of hosts must be one body of Christ;

3<sup>rd</sup> All those sensible signs must be

1. significatur B. 10. exposuit B; *ib.* regulare B. 14. parvum CD.  
15. regulare B. 22. materia B. 25. moveret CD. 36. in Cor. 10 D.  
38. hostie CD. 39. idem *deest* B.

referred,  
without thought  
of their  
quiddity, to the  
body of Christ  
into which all  
is changed.  
And note that  
Grosseteste  
says 'Perhaps  
when he denies  
a subject.

And when  
St. Ambrose  
says after the  
consecration we  
must believe  
there is nothing,  
but Christ's  
body he means  
'we must then  
think of nothing  
else'.

So also of many  
other  
expressions; as  
when  
Grosseteste  
says:  
'That there is  
no material  
substance of  
bread or wine.'

Yet whether  
before or after  
the consecration  
it is good to  
remember how  
the nature of  
bread is reduced  
to unity:  
Augustine  
quoted.

cuntur quo ad consideracionem et cultum fidelium ad  
unicum corpus Christi, in quod omnia convertuntur.  
Unde, quia hoc casualiter evenit, ideo dicit | Linconiensis, A 59<sup>b</sup>  
quod "forte ille forme sensibiles dicuntur sic uniri,  
quia ille forme sensibiles non habent alias subsistencias 5  
ipsas tunc in esse | supportantes", suple "in actu con-B 68<sup>c</sup>  
sideracionis fidelium". Nec est facile fingere, quomodo  
doctor ad alium sensum insereret hoc adverbium  
"forte".

Et sic intelligitur dictum beati Ambrosii positum de 10  
consecracione, distincione II, capitulo "*Omnia que-  
cunque*", ubi dicit quod panis et vinum post conse-  
cracionem nichil aliud quam corpus Christi et sanguis  
credenda sunt, quia non est tunc cogitandum de alia  
quidditate. Et sic intelligitur dictum Augustini de verbis 15  
domini, sermone 28. "Dixi vobis quod ante verba  
Christi quo offertur panis dicatur; sed cum verba  
Christi depromta fuerint, iam non panis dicitur sed  
corpus Christi appellatur"; et intelligitur indubie corpus  
Christi, ut patet sermone 53. "Sacramentum", inquit, 20  
"pene omnes corpus Christi dicunt."

Et idem patet in aliis dictis sanctorum similibus;  
et ad eundem sensum refertur sequens negativa Linco-  
niensis dicentis, quod "non est tunc materialis sub-  
stancia panis aut vini", supple "in actu consideracionis 25  
fidelium", quia ipse indubie loquitur de qualitatibus  
sensibilibus, quas oportet tam secundum modernos  
quam antiquos fundari in quantitate corporea; et per  
consequens non poterunt per se esse.

Notandum tamen quod, ante verba consecracionis 30 D.  
et post, licitum est et meritorium memorari, quomodo  
natura panis secundum gradus unionis redigatur ad  
unam integritatem, ut patet sepe per beatum Augustinum;  
ut patet, III<sup>o</sup> de trinitate capitulo septimo; et in libro  
sermonum, | sermone 55<sup>o</sup>. "Aliud," inquit, "est sacra-A 59<sup>a</sup>  
mentum; aliud virtus sacramenti." Sacramentum enim  
ore percipitur, virtute sacramenti, homo interior sa-

8. interret B. 14. aliqua CD. 25. vult vini sub forma panis et  
vini BC. 28. quam secundum B. 29. potuerunt CD. 35. After 55<sup>th</sup>:  
Idem docet Rabanus in "de naturis rerum", libro 5 capitulo XI. Aliud etc. B.  
55<sup>th</sup> capitulo CD.

11. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, Dist. II, c. 74. 20. Aug. Serm.  
CCCLIV. Migné, t. 38, p. 1563. 35. Aug. In Joh. Tract. XXVI.  
Migné, t. 33, p. 1611.



- ciatur igitur, quia panis corpus hominis confirmat, ideo ille congruenter corpus Christi nuncupatur; vinum  
 B 68<sup>4</sup> autem, quia sanguinem | operatur in carnem: ideo ad  
 sanguinem Christi refertur. Et possunt glozari quotquot  
 5 doctores qui videntur dicere, quod sacramentum sit  
 accidens sine subiecto; sed postquam generacio adultera  
 signa querens in ista materia multiplicavit mendacia,  
 publicata est ista blasfemia, quod eukaristia sit accidens  
 sine subiecto.
- 10 Secundo obicitur per hoc, quod papa Innocencius III,  
 qui habet spiritum et potestatem exponendi fidem  
 scripture, determinat quod est accidens sine substantia;  
 ut patet III decretalium de celebrandis missis, capitulo  
*Cum Marthe*. Sed hoc non habet necessitatem vel  
 15 colorem ponere, nisi in sacramento eukaristie; igitur,  
 ibidem est accidens sine subiecto; quo habito, oportet  
 ponere illud accidens esse sacramentum, quia certum  
 est quod aliquod sensibile signum remanet; si illud  
 sit panis, tunc non est accidens; si illud sit accidens  
 20 quod prius fuit in pane, ipso pane remanente, tunc  
 non est accidens sine subiecto; ideo necesse est ponere,  
 ut moderni fingunt, quod illud signum sacramentale  
 sit accidens quod quondam fuit in pane, natura panis  
 destructa. Hic sepe dixi, quod nec deus nec homo  
 25 potest facere accidens sine subiecto. Et quantum ad  
 dictum pape potest dici, quod ipse intelligit accidens  
 esse in sacramento sine subiecto naturali, actualiter et  
 A 59<sup>4</sup> prin | cipaliter a fidelibus apprehenso; cum tota con-  
 sideracio fidelium debet esse suspensa in corpore  
 30 Christi, quod est figurative sacramentum sensibile;  
 sicut, videndo carbonem ignitum, homo non considerat  
 utrum sit lapis vel lignum; et sic de eius qualitate  
 naturali correspondenter secundum Johannem Damasce-  
 E. num est de eukaristia iudicandum. Sed ulterius cum  
 B 69<sup>4</sup> non docetur | istum fuisse sensum pape predicti, scilicet  
 Innocencii III<sup>ii</sup>: notandum quod nulli pape est creden-  
 dum, nisi de quanto docuerit se loqui ex spiritu sancto,  
 vel se fundaverit in scriptura. Petrus enim et ceteri  
 autores scripture docuerunt in facto, quod deus in eis  
 40 locutus est sententiam quam scripserunt; posteriores

<sup>4</sup>As bread  
strengthens  
man's body, as  
wine makes  
blood, each is  
properly called  
the body and  
blood of Christ.

*Second  
objection.*  
It has been  
declared by  
Pope  
Innocent III  
that the  
Eucharist is an  
accident  
without subject.

*Answer.*  
If that accident  
be the  
sacrament,  
we must say  
that the  
accident  
remains, the  
nature of  
bread being  
destroyed.  
But even God  
cannot make an  
accident  
without subject.  
The Pope's  
declaration can  
be explained as  
that of the other  
doctors.

Still, as we are  
not sure that  
Innocent had  
this sense in  
mind,  
we must only  
believe the  
Pope when he  
speaks by  
inspiration of  
the Holy Ghost,  
or grounding  
his decision on  
Scripture.

8. publicana AB; *ib.* est B.  
18. signi B. 20. pane *deest* B.

12. subiecto B.  
34. de *deest* AB.

13. celo B.

14. Decr. Greg. lib. III, tit. 21, c. 6.

autem pape et quatuor magni doctores non devenerant ad hunc gradum.

Such is the doctrine of Augustine.

Ideo sepe docet beatus Augustinus quod nulli eorum quantumcunque magna sciencia vel sanctitate prepolleat, credendum est, nisi de quanto se fundaverit in scriptura; ut patet 9<sup>a</sup> distincione. Unde suspecta videtur presumptio, cum in scriptura sacra sit omnis veritas, ut patet 11<sup>o</sup>. *De doctrina Christiana*, in fine, et

It is a ground for suspicion that the Pope did not allege Scripture for this doctrine.

quantum oportet explicite fidelem credere, est ibi explicitum, quod papa iste noluit allegare fidem scripture pro ista sententia. Item, extranea expositio quam dat scripture De maiortate et obediencia, capitulo *Solite*,

We are not more obliged to believe it, than to think him right in levying tribute of 900 marks on England.

reddit hominem plus suspectum. Non enim oportet ecclesiam in isto sibi credere ut auctori veritatis quam detegit; nec ut testi veritatis plus creditur in isto auctoritati sue quam in penitencia qua obligavit Angliam solvere nongentas marcas annuatim sedi sue. Sed illi A 60<sup>a</sup> discredimus; cur igitur non isti, in quo contrariatur sanctis doctoribus? Item, cum non habuit ex se istam

And as he did not learn this doctrine from Scripture, so neither by revelation.

noticiam vel auctoritatem, oportet quod habeat ipsam a deo per scripturam vel inspiracionem; nulla scriptura sacra vadit ad hoc, cum regulariter et vere indubie vocat eukaristiam panem, et ad sensum alium corpus Christi. Nec docetur revelacio, cum vite mundialitas et eius auctoritas, "in quo non fuit Est et Non" patule

It is not credible that this should have been revealed to Innocent now, and hidden for so long from so many Saints of the early church.

contradicant; nec est credibile quod ista quidditas hostie latuisset autores scripture et cunctos sanctos episcopos et doctores per mille annos et amplius; et secundo millenario quando solutus est pater mendacii, et clerus excidit a religione Christi, sit ista veritas fidei revelata. Volvat, inquam, homo sanctos primi millenarii, et non

inveniet quod eukaristia sit quantitas vel qualitas sine subiecto, sed sepe contrarium; sed si hoc novissent, plus quam Innocencius ecclesie dixissent.

*Digression on the ancient and present times.*  
Of old, God stopped heretics' mouths.  
But at present the lying spirit has been loosed,

Unde deus obstruxit ora pape Innocencii et totius secte sue precedentis et sequentis usque ad demonium meridianum, quod nullus eorum audebat asserere quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens sine subiecto. Diebus autem nostris sunt magis laxata mendacia: in tantum,

1. deenarant B. 4. 5. prepoleant B. 11. dant B. 23. Et deest B. 27. scribere B. 28. in B. 36. subsequentes B.

6. Decr. Grat. 1<sup>a</sup> Pars. Dist. IX, c. 10. 8. Aug. De Doctrina Christiana, l. II, c. 42. Migne, t. 34, p. 65. 11. Decr. Greg., lib. I, tit. 33, c. 6.



quod quidam doctor, cuius religio foret secundum veritatem pacis in clauastro quiescere, docmatizavit publice Oxonie scolam patris mendacii quod in multis casibus licitum et meritorium est mentiri. Licet autem in primo  
 5 millenario erant cum sanctis multi heretici, qui repre-  
 A 60<sup>b</sup> hensibiliter per | sanctos doctores in mendacio sunt  
 signati; non tamen in comparacione ad tempus secundi  
 millenarii, cum tot sunt symoniaci, quod inter centum  
 hereticos vix unum fidelem inuenies; et specialiter  
 10 propter eos qui excusando et non reprobando con-  
 senciunt symonie. Illi autem sunt magis proditorie  
 B 69<sup>c</sup> heretici | ex consensu, dicente decreto Innocencii, dis-  
 tinccione 83, capitulo, *Error*, "non caret scrupulo  
 G, societatis occulte, qui manifesto facinori desinit obviare".  
 15 Ideo propheta precipit Ysaie LVIII: "Clama, ne cesses;  
 Is. quasi tuba exalta vocem tuam et nuncia populo meo  
 LVIII,<sup>1</sup> scelera eorum." Nunquam enim ab origine mundi fuit  
 manifestius facinus, quam est hodie symonia; et plures  
 defendentes et tacentes non legi, et per consequens  
 20 non plures hereticos. Cuius magna causa est apostata-  
 tarum taciturnitas. Unde in prima ciliade etatis ecclesie,  
 mortuis quatuor magnis eius doctoribus, surrexit secta  
 Machometi per instinctum unius cultoris signorum Sergii.  
 Sed illi non erant ita copiose et regulariter heretici,  
 25 sicut sunt hodie satrape irreligiosi ecclesie. Ideo illi  
 nimirum infideliter commixti fidelibus instar aque fer-  
 vide, in aura gelida refrigescere faciunt caritatem mul-  
 torum, ut dicit Christus in ewangelio.

Sed, redeundo, dicitur quod decretum pape non  
 30 asseruit sacramentum altaris esse accidens sine subiecto.  
 Et ideo stultum foret mendacium illud sibi imponere  
 et super illud aliud sibi mendacium cumulare; ut  
 A 60<sup>a</sup> puta | quod sit qualitas aut quantitas sine subiecto.  
 Et dictum pape potest glozari ut supra, sine hoc quod  
 35 illud accidens ponatur eukaristia. Nam secundum in-  
 ventores huius mendacii, accidens potest remanere sine  
 subiecto pane remanente, suspensa illius accidentis

so that a  
 certain doctor  
 has taught at  
 Oxford that a  
 lie is often a  
 good deed.

Heretics are  
 multiplied,  
 especially those  
 who consent to  
 simony.

"Not to hinde  
 a crime gives  
 a share in it."

We ought to  
 raise our voices  
 with Isaiah  
 against such  
 manifest crime.

In the first  
 millenary,  
 Mahomet and  
 Sergius did less  
 harm than the  
 present sects.

As a fact, the  
 pope has not  
 decreed that  
 the Sacrament  
 is an accident  
 without subject.

The doctrine  
 of those who  
 sustain this goes  
 much farther than  
 what he  
 says.

7. ad comparacionem B; *ib.* secundi B. 14. manifeste C. 16. an-  
 nuncia B. 21. ciliade *erased*; clade A. 24. irregulariter B. 30. astruit  
 omnes MSS. 31-33. Et — subiecto *deest* ACD.

13. Decr. Grat. 1<sup>a</sup> Pars, Dist. LXXXIII, c. 3. 23. Wyclif  
 often refers to the Mohammedan religion as a heretical sect.  
 This point of view would be true enough, without the allusions  
 to Sergius.

informacione, et remanente panis prima significacione; quomodo ergo concludunt ipsi ex dicto pape quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens?

Wyclif holds to Pope Nicolas' decree: "That the bread and wine are, not a mere sign, but Christ's body and blood". This doctrine ought to be maintained by all.

Ideo alias dixi, quod nolo contendere circa sensum pape in isto, sed in benedicto | decretali Nicolai se-B 69<sup>4</sup> cundi quiescere; De consecracione, distincione II<sup>a</sup>. *Ego Berengarius*"; sicut prius dicit ecclesia, profiteor panem et vinum que in altari ponuntur esse post consecracionem, non solum sacramentum, sed corpus et sanguinem domini nostri Jesu Christi. Istam autem sentenciam confirmatam ex fide scripture, et expositam per quatuor magnos doctores ecclesie, debet doctor credere et populo predicare et non remanere in capitulo infidelium excedente symphlices ydiotas, qui dicunt quod

The laity should know that the bread, transubstantiated, becomes Christ's body.

The Pope's decree should be respected if he agrees with Scripture.

Many think that he is often in

disagreement.

For instance,

one of his

positions about

the Holy

Trinity, at the

Council of

Lateran, seems

to have no

foundation in

Scripture, in

reason, or in

the Fathers.

nec volunt nec sciunt dicere quid sit hostia consecrata. 15 Layci enim debent scire, quod est corpus Christi, et quod est panis, qui dum est sanctificatus convertitur et transsubstantiatur et fit corpus Christi; et qui non credit ac scit illud, non est dignus nomine sacerdotis. Quantum autem ad dicta papalia, dicitur, admittendo 20 H. et honorando illa de quanto secundum aliquam scintillam veritatis sunt in scriptura fundabilia et non ultra.

Unde videtur multis quod multa dicta huius pape nimis exiliter sunt fundata. Nam dicta sua posita de summa trinitate, capitulo *Firmiter*, que dicuntur facta A 60<sup>4</sup> in concilio Lateranensi, | videntur nimis levia, non fundata; ut in isto: Natura divina nec gignit nec gignitur"; quia nec fundatur istud in scriptura sacra nec in racione, nec in sanctis doctoribus. In scriptura sacra non, quia Ysaie LXVI dicit divina substancia: "Numquid 30 ego qui alios parturire facio, sterilis ero?" quasi diceret, Is. LXVI, 9 ego natura divina communis tribus personis, prius produco verbum ad intra in patre, quam facio creaturam

14. excedentem CD. 24. sunt deest D. 30. dicit dicit ABD.  
31. quod dicit B. 33. verba B.

6. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, Dist. II, c. 42. 28. These words, as they stand, are not to be found either in the Decr. Greg. lib. I, tit. I, c. 1 or c. 2; though the c. 2 is obviously alluded to here. The Abbot Joachim had written a treatise against Peter Lombard, accusing the latter of making a fourth person of the Trinity: viz. the Divine Essence, common to the Three Persons. This treatise was condemned by the fourth Lateran council. C. 2 says: *Quaelibet trium personarum est illa res . . . natura divina . . . Et illa res non est generans, neque genita, nec procedens . . .*



B 70<sup>a</sup> aliquam parturire. | Nec est fundabile in scriptura  
 sacra oppositum. Notaret igitur dictum beati Dyonisii  
 in De divinis nominibus: "Non est", inquit, "audendum  
 aliquid dicere vel cogitare de supersubstantiali et  
 5 occulta divinitate, preter ea que nobis per sacras  
 scripturas de deo divinitus sunt expressa." Melius igitur  
 foret illum hominem in isto tacere et exequi decreta  
 ewangelica de symonia ad correccionem ecclesie. Quan-  
 tum ad rationes omnes palliantes eum per terminos  
 10 ultimate abstraccionis, nescierunt evadere quin sicut  
 natura divina producit universitatem creatam, sic pro-  
 ducit filium ad intra sicut deus. Notaret igitur onerans  
 ecclesiam docmatibus istis fantasticis, dictum beati  
 Ambrosii dicentis: "Quid," inquit, "inveniri iniquius  
 15 potest, quam simpliciter credere nolle quod lego et  
 l. presumpsisse me velle credere quod non lego?" Et  
 quantum ad testimonia sanctorum, patet quod Augustinus  
 sepe concedit de deo, quod est substantia de sub-  
 stancia et essentia de essentia. Quid igitur moveret  
 20 papam et concilium quorum mille non valerent in  
 A 61<sup>a</sup> materia fidei unum Augustinum, sic temere diffinire | quod  
 nesciunt? Numquid credimus favorem Petri Lombardi,  
 quia episcopus Parisiensis, et odium abbatis Joachim,  
 quia detexit defectus Romane ecclesie, movere ad onus  
 25 ecclesie, ut condempnetur veritas et falsitas confirmetur?  
 Et quantum ad obiecta est pudor eis ipsos detegere.  
 Et eodem modo sentitur de ista blasphemia decretali  
 de maiortate et obediencia, capitulo *Solite*, et de  
 illa lege iniqua de pena et remissis, capitulo *Omnis*  
 30 *utriusque sexus*, cum aliis que iste papa instituit; sic  
 non est color sed blasfemia, quod si Romanus pontifex  
 quicquam instituit, tunc est iustum. Sed est argumen-  
 tum topicum, quod si quicquam preter scripturam

But the  
 contrary  
 opinion is no  
 better  
 grounded.

Better pursue  
 simoniacs, who  
 try to elude the  
 Church's  
 decisions by all  
 subtleties, than  
 teach mysteries  
 about the  
 production of  
 the Word in  
 God.

Besides, the  
 Council seems  
 to contradict  
 Augustin, who  
 is worth a  
 thousand of  
 those doctors.

Was it love for  
 Peter Lombard  
 or hatred of  
 Abbot Joachim,  
 that made them  
 promulgate it?  
 This were  
 shameful.

That all things  
 decreed by the  
 Roman Pontiff  
 are right is  
 blasphemy;

1. fundabile C. 2. omnium B. 3. audiendum omnes MSS.  
 7. ista B. 9. quam B. 14. dicentis sic B. 19. de essentia deest D.  
 20. valent B. 21. quod deest D. 23. et . . . Joachim deest BCD.  
 24. onere D. 25. falsitas ut D. 26. obiectus omnes MSS. 27-31. de-  
 cretali . . . blasfemia deest ACD. 32. multum D.

3. St. Dionysius Areop. De Divinis nominibus, c. 1. See Migne's  
 Series Graeca, t. 3, c. 586. 22. For Joachim abbot of Flora  
 in Calabria, see *Biographie Universelle*. It is worth notice that  
 the condemnation in question took place in 1215, 13 years after  
 his death. He does not seem to have been disliked at Rome,  
 for Clement IV. in 1360, took the first steps towards his cano-  
 nisation; and though he was never formally canonised, services  
 are allowed in his honour on the 29<sup>th</sup> of May.

it is probable  
that whatever  
he decrees  
beyond  
Scripture is  
false.

If he defines  
the sense of  
Scripture,  
we should  
inquire how  
far he agrees  
with the  
Fathers.

The antiquity  
of the See of  
Rome proves  
nothing in  
favour of its  
holiness or its  
science.

The patriarchs  
were before  
Christ.

If nearness to  
Christ before  
his coming,  
and distance  
after, brought  
sanctity, we  
should have  
absurd results.  
God gives us  
light according  
to our holiness.

decreverit, tunc est falsum. | In hiis vero que nescit B 70<sup>b</sup>  
celaret vel publicaret suam ignoranciam et non in fide  
ambiguorum oneraret ecclesiam. Ymmo fideles non  
attenderent dicta sua, nisi de quanto ipsa in scriptura  
fundaverit. Quod si sensum ponit scripture, videndum 5  
est de fundacione sensus, quomodo concordat cum  
sanctis doctoribus primi millenarii etatis ecclesie; si  
extraneat vel discordat ab eis, est suspectus; et speci-  
aliter si urget fideles sibi credere. Nec valet sed inficit  
allegacio auctoritatis sciencie vel potestatis paparum, qui 10  
debent sine pompa veritatem suam ostendere instar beati  
Petri, et quod ex eleccione dei sunt immediati Petri  
vicarii.

Nec movet antiquitas temporum, quod sint in sancti-  
tate et sciencia prepollentes; quia ex fide patet quod 15  
in medio temporum incarnata est lux vera sapiencia  
dei patris, et ante ipsam precesserunt Adam, Noe et  
Abraham; post | ipsos vero Moyses, David et prophete, A 61<sup>b</sup>  
post Christum vero successerunt apostoli, martires et  
confessores. Unde insania est credere, quod propor- 20  
cionabiliter ut prelati sunt ante Christum tempore sibi  
propiores, et post Christum tempore tardiores, sic sunt  
sancciores; quia sic Caifas excederet Moysen et regula-  
riter nostri episcopi Augustinum. Cum autem deus sit  
lumen liberum illuminans, copiosius illuminat in fruc- 25  
tuosa sciencia quemcunque qui ipsum propinquius imi-  
tatur in moribus.

6. quem D. 18. vere ACD. 20. insanie omnes MSS. 23, 24. re-  
gulariter deest B.



## CAPITULUM SEXTUM.

Sed obicitur per doctores primi millenarii. Videtur  
 B 70<sup>e</sup> enim quod aliter sit corpus Christi in | altari quam  
 presencia vel significacione; quia aliter foret eque vere  
 5 in aliis signis suis: ut puta in scriptura, in ianuis per  
 quas intravit et in corpore celesti quod penetravit in  
 ascensione. Et non solum hoc, sed corpus Christi foret  
 a pari omnia illa corpora, cum mille aliis inconvenienciis  
 que secuntur.

10 Hic dicitur quod pluries ista obiciunt, sed dimittunt  
 radicem; cum igitur conceditur quod "non omnis  
 panis, sed panis benedictionem accipiens sit sacramen-  
 taliter corpus Christi", quia Christus hoc dicit. Et sic  
 intelligi potest Augustinus 3<sup>o</sup>. *De trinitate*, capitulo 7<sup>o</sup>,  
 15 quando dicit, "Apostolus Paulus potuit signando predi-  
 care dominum Jesum Christum et aliter per linguam,  
 aliter per epistolam, aliter per sacramentum corporis  
 et sanguinis eius: nec linguam quippe eius, nec mem-  
 branas et atramentum, nec signantes sonos lingua editos,  
 20 nec signa literarum que scripta sunt pelliculis, corpus  
 Christi et sanguinem dicimus, sed illud tantum quod  
 A 61<sup>e</sup> ex fru | ctibus terre acceptum et prece mistica con-  
 secratum, rite sumimus ad salutem;" cuius causa videtur  
 quod Christus qui mentiri non potest, panem illum dixit  
 25 corpus suum, sed non sic alia recitata.

Ideo illum modum sacramentalem essendi dicit  
 Damascenus esse inexplicabilem. Est itaque hoc sacra-  
 mentum corpus Christi non ydemptitate, sed figurative.  
 Ideo dicit Augustinus in quodam sermone de corpore

*Objection from  
the Fathers  
refuted.*

If Christ were  
only on the  
altar in  
presence or  
figuratively he  
would be  
equally present  
in Holy Writ,  
or in the doors  
through which  
he passed.

*Answer.*  
One chief point  
is forgotten  
here:

That according  
to Augustine,  
not any bread  
becomes  
Christ's  
sacramental  
body, but that  
which is  
blessed;

and that Christ,  
said of that  
bread: *This is  
my body*; and  
not of the other  
things.

It is His body,  
not identically,  
but in figure.

4. vere *deest* CD.  
24. quia B.

10. pueriles ACD.

20. corporis B.

6. The crystalline spheres and the *primum mobile*, believed to be solid.  
14. Aug. *De Trinitate*, lib. III, c. IV (t. 42, p. 873, 874 of Migne).

Augustine, saying: "What is of the fruits of the earth, taken and consecrated by a mystic prayer, is the body and blood of Christ": evidently means bread and wine.

Wyclif's description of the Sacrament under its two forms.

None of the nine sorts of accidents were 'taken from the fruits of the earth', and 'consecrated with mystic prayer'.

A question: whether in Wyclif's theory any part of the world, since Christ is present, may rightly be called Christ? After the judgment Christ will be all in all; therefore all will be Christ, His humanity existing through all space.

Christi: "Corpus Christi est veritas et figura est veritas, dum corpus et sanguis virtute ipsius, in verbo ipsius panis et vini substancia efficitur. | Figura vero est illud B 70<sup>4</sup> quod exterius sentitur." Et idem patet super titulum B. psalmi XV. Nec audiui aliquem sane intelligere, quin 5 id quod Augustinus dicit esse corpus Christi et sanguinem quod est "ex fructibus terre acceptum et prece mistica consecratum", debet esse panis aut vinum verbis sacramentalibus consecratum. Unde, ut recitatur de Consecracione, distincione 2<sup>a</sup>, Augustinus dicit, quod 10 "non omnis panis, sed qui accipit benedictionem a Christo, fit corpus Christi."

Unde solebam describere sacramentum siccum, album et rotundum, quod est panis, factus per verba sacramentalia corpus Christi. Et sacramentum calicis est 15 vinum, factum per verba sacramentalia sanguis Christi. Unde nulli dubium, qui vidit dicta Augustini et novit verba philosophorum, quod Augustinus non intelligit per id quod ex fructibus terre acceptum est aliquod novem generum accidentis, quia notum est, quod nec 20 quantitas, nec qualitas illa fuit accepta ex fructibus terre, cum sepe tam qualitas quam quantitas variata est, sed essentia naturalis |, que quondam fuit in terre A 61<sup>4</sup> fructibus, componit panem sanctificatum. Et inpertinens ac irrationabile foret credere accidens esse per se prece 25 mistica consecratum; sed totum ministerium iacet in pane et vino, cuius sententia est hodie omissa.

Sed difficultas est utrum quilibet pars mundi, cum habet humanitatem Christi sibi presentem, et sit signum Christi efficax, sit quodammodo ipse Christus. Et videtur 30 quod sic ratione a simili et ex textu apostoli quem indubie dicit Christus Cor. XV et Coloc. III, quod post diem iudicii Christus erit omnia in omnibus: ex quo | B 71<sup>4</sup> sequitur, quod tunc omnes essencie erunt Christus. Et C. confirmatur ex hoc quod Christus erit humanitus ad 35 omnem punctum mundi; sed ubicunque erit humanitus, erit aliquid ibi existens; igitur Christus ad omnem punctum mundi erit aliquid ibi existens. Ex quibus cum veris infertur, quod sicut in sacramento altaris

1. et omnes MSS. 2. in verbo *deest* D. 3. in verbo ipsius *post* efficitur D. 20. nomen D; *ib.* accidere B. 25. omne *pro* esse CD. 27. amissa B. 29. sit *deest* CD. 30. sit propterea B. 33. in *deest* AB. 37. aliud CD. 37, 38. igitur — existens *deest* B.



- Christus multiplicatur et est ipsa hostia, ita post diem iudicii erit omnia; nam in qualibet creatura beati videbunt humanitatem Christi, clarius quam nunc videmus in sacramento altaris. Quo ad istud dico opinative citra
- 5 fidem, quod aliquod istorum trium probabiliter posset dici; *primo*, quod Christus, secundum significacionem et non secundum substanciam, erit tunc omnes et singule creature; ut est tactum. Vel, *secundo*, quod erit omnia genera creaturarum in beatis ad sensum ex-
- 10 positum; sed non erit aliquis dyabolus vel dampnatus. Vel *tercio*, quod erit omne genus hominum in memoris suis per assimilacionem; homo enim vocatur in ewangelio omnis creatura, et quodlibet membrum Christi dicitur quodammodo ipse Christus. Nam nimis leve
- 15 videtur quod Christus erit omnia, hoc est ydee, que sunt omnia, quia hoc necessario est semper.
- A 62\* | Sed, dimisso isto sensu, ad hoc michi opinabiliter D. notandus est auctor Ambrosius in libro suo De divinis officiis, vel ut aliis placet, autor De divinis officiis, qui
- 20 cepit istam sententiam de beato Ambrosio, ut probabiliter creditur, ex secreto medie misse natalis domini. Unde vidi librum solemnem et antiquum intitulatum: "Ambrosius, de divinis officiis." Scribit autem iste doctor catholicus et solemnus, quicumque fuerit, capitulo,
- B 71<sup>b</sup> de sacramento altaris sic: "Materia |," inquit, "vel substantia sacrificii quod erat tunc, et nunc est in manibus pontificis nostri, non simpla est, sicut nec pontifex ipse solius divine vel humane solius substancie est; est enim tam in pontifice, quam in sacrificio
- 30 divina substantia. Est et terrena; terrena in utroque est illud quod corporaliter vel localiter videri potest; divina in utroque verbum invisibile, quod in principio erat deus, aput deum; nam cum diceret idem magnus pontifex, panem et vinum tenens: *hoc est corpus meum*, 35 *hic est sanguis meus*; vox erat verbi incarnati, vox

Wyclif's opinion (not belief).

1<sup>st</sup> That Christ will then be all things but only metaphorically.  
2<sup>nd</sup> He will be all things in the Blessed only.  
3<sup>rd</sup> That by union with them He will be the whole human race.

Return to main point; De Divinis officiis quoted at length.

The matter of the sacrifice, like the nature of Christ, is not simple: for in both there is the divine and the terrestrial nature. In both, that which is seen is terrestrial. When Christ said: This, etc. he joined the bread to His flesh.

5. potest B. 17. opinabili ACD. 18. beatus Ambrosius BD.  
19. vel — officiis deest CD. 21. domini omnes MSS. 28. solus ACD.

20. The book entitled *De Divinis Officiis* was ascribed to Alcuin, but was probably by a later writer. (See Migne. Patr., t. 101, p. 1173.) But this passage does not occur in the work; there is not even a chapter of that name; so it is probable, as will be seen later, that Wyclif's copy was much interpolated; and as this passage is really worthy of the best times of the Church, it may have been written by Ambrose. 21. Secr. ad Missam in Aurora, die Nat. Dom. (Missale Sarum.)

See PL 170, 40

as air and  
thought, joined  
by the tongue,  
make speech.

When the  
priest  
distributes the  
sacrament, the  
bread and wine  
is consumed,  
but the  
Virgin's Son,  
with the Word  
of the Father  
remains;  
while the  
unbeliever  
perceives only  
the appearances  
of bread and  
wine.

He again speaks  
of the 'visible  
bread that came  
up out of the  
earth' and of  
the 'invisible  
bread that came  
down from  
heaven' as  
being 'one  
bread'.

Answering the  
objection: How  
can Christ live  
where there is  
no motion? He  
says:

"There is  
spiritual life  
and animal life,  
the latter  
consisting in  
the five senses.

But the latter  
is of no avail.  
If the Jews had  
carnally eaten  
Christ's body,  
it would not  
have profited  
them; on the  
contrary.

eterni principii, verbum antiqui consilii, verbum quod  
humanam acceperat naturam, idem in carne manens,  
panis et vini accipiebat substantiam, vita media, panem  
cum sua carne, vinum cum suo iungebat sanguine;  
quem ad modum in corporis sensibus menti et cor- 5  
pulentio aeri, media lingua intervenit et, utrumque  
coniungens, unum sermonem efficit: quo in aures  
demisso, id quod audibile est cito absumitur et | transit; A 62<sup>b</sup>  
sensus autem sermonis et in dicente et in eo qui audit  
integer permanet et inconsumptus. Sic verbum patris 10  
carni et sanguini quem de utero virginis assumpserat  
et pani ac vino quod de altari sumitur, medium in-  
terveniens, unum sacramentum efficit; quod cum in ora  
fidelium sacerdos distribuit, panis et vinum absumitur  
et transit. Partus autem virginis cum unito sibi verbo 15  
patris et in celo et in hominibus integer permanet et E.  
inconsumptus; sed in illo in quo fides non est preter | B 71<sup>a</sup>  
visibiles species panis et vini nichil de sacrificio per-  
venit: quem ad modum asinus ad liram, cum irracio-  
nales aures erigit, sonum quidem audit, sed modum 20  
cantilene non percipit." Et paulo post: "Panis," inquit,  
"invisibilis, qui de celo descendit vita est; panis visi-  
bilis qui de terra crevit, unus tamen panis est, quo-  
modo qui de celo descendit et qui conceptus est et  
natus de utero virginis, Christus unus est. Qua propter 25  
qui visibilem panem sacrificii comedit et invisibilem a  
corde suo non credendo expellit, Christum occidit,  
quia vitam a vivificato seiungit, et dentibus suis laniat  
mortuum corpus sacrificii, atque per hoc reus est cor-  
poris et sanguinis domini. Sed dicit adversarius: vivens 30  
et sensibilis in corpore suo mobilisque est deus et  
homo Christus; corpus autem sacrificii vitam non habet,  
mobile non est. Hoc assumpto, concludit sic: Corpus  
igitur domini non est, Christus non est. Ad hec, in-  
quam, obse | cro te, quam in corpore domini vitam A 62<sup>c</sup>  
requiris; est enim vita animalis, est et vita spiritualis;  
vita animalis quinque sensibus fungitur: visu, auditu,  
gustu, odoratu et tactu. Hec vita animalis est, carnalis  
est, caro est. Dominus autem dicit quia *caro non*  
*prodest quicquam*. Si enim Judei carnem quam crucifi- 40  
xerunt comedere et devorare sicut carnem agni maluis-  
Jo. VI, 64

2. huiusmodi B. 12. medium *deest* B. 13. sacrificium B.  
16. et *deest* D. 24. qui *deest* B. 28. a vivificativo A. 34. hoc *pro*  
hec B. 35. quomodo B.



- sent, aut potuissent integram vivamque absorbere, sicut  
 B 71<sup>d</sup> cetus maris viventem absorbit | Jonam, nichil illis  
 profuisset; ymo maiori sacrilegio consciencias suas  
 polluisent. Animalis igitur vita, quia caro est, si in  
 5 corpore domini adesset, nichil nobis prodesset; ac per  
 hoc istam requirere superfluum est. Numquid celestis  
 homo per sacrificium hic administraret, quod nobis  
 non deerat? non enim prudencie eius est curiositatem  
 nostram non necessariis pascere miraculis. Querebat hoc  
 10 curiosus Herodes, quando erat *ex multo tempore cupiens*  
*Jesum videre, quia sperabat signum aliquod ab eo fieri;*  
 Luc. XXIII, quod quia non fecit *sprevit illum, et remisit indutum*  
 8, 11 *alba veste*. Solam igitur vitam spiritualem in sacrificio  
 nobis administrare sapienciam eius decebat, et nostre  
 15 necessitati expediebat, que est sanctificacio et benedictio,  
 misericordia et veritas et pax. Hec autem eius vita  
 spiritualis sic est in corpore sacrificii, absque vita  
 A 62<sup>d</sup> eius animali, quomodo lux solis absque colore eius |  
 in corpore lune nobis presentatur. Igitur hiis pariter  
 20 ex rebus sacrificium nobis construxit summus pontifex,  
 quibus totus homo vegetatur, id est, ex verbo dei, in  
 quo vivit homo, et ex terre fructibus quibus solum  
 vivit corpus; hiis dumtaxat, qui omnium primi sunt.  
 Panis enim eorum, que ad esum, vinum eorum que ad  
 25 potum pertinent, primum est".  
 F. Ex istis verbis doctoris Ambrosii precipui seu sui  
 discipuli, patet sententia sepe dicta. Unde in doctoribus  
 non incarceratis in clastro secundum tradiciones  
 humanas viguit fides eucharistie secundum aliquid; ut  
 B 72<sup>a</sup> patet de quatuor magnis doctoribus, | et specialiter de  
 dicto Ambrosio in primo millenario, et de hesternis  
 doctoribus, licet nimis seductis. Henricus Gawnt dicit  
 vere quod remanet post consecracionem quedam "panis  
 aliquitas"; et Ardmachanus dicit cum Ambrosio, Jeronimo  
 35 et Johanne Damasceno quod panis demonstratur pro-  
 nomine verbi Christi: "hoc est corpus meum"; et ita  
 sensit balbuciens glossa ordinaria, super capitulo *Non*  
*omnis panis* de consecracione, distincione 2<sup>a</sup>.

Animal life  
would only have  
satisfied  
curiosity; and  
Christ would  
not satisfy the  
curiosity of  
Herod.

That we get  
only spiritual  
life from the  
sacrament was  
ordained by  
His wisdom;  
the Word feeds  
the soul; and  
the fruit of the  
earth, the body.

All this  
confirms our  
doctrine.  
The four great  
doctors of the  
first ten  
centuries agree  
with him.

So do others:  
e. g. Henry of  
Ghent, Fitz-  
Ralph, and the  
Gloss.

13. spiritualem in marg. A; deest CD. 18. calore CD. 20. in-  
struxit B. 25. sunt B. 32. seductus Henricus gawnt D; Gawnt de  
Gandano B.

32. Henry Goethals of Ghent, a pupil of Albert the Great and  
a fellow-pupil of Aquinas, was born in 1217, and died in 1293.  
Author of a work on Theology in three folio vols. See Valère André,  
*Bibliotheca Belgica*, p. 445; *Nouvelle Biographie générale*, t. XXI.

It is therefore  
doubtless that  
Christ made  
the bread to be  
His Body.

Blindness of  
the second  
thousand years.

Digression  
concerning the  
binding of

Satan,  
which means  
the less or  
greater power  
he has to  
tempt men.

According to  
Augustine, the  
'thousand  
years' means  
most probably  
the sixth  
thousand,  
when Christ  
was born.

He says that  
as Adam was  
created and fell  
on the sixth day  
it was fitting  
that Christ  
should come in  
the sixth age of  
the world.

Christ, the  
strong man  
armed, took  
possession of  
the sixth age.

Et correspondenter indubie oportet dicere de nostra  
proposicione sacramentali quod Christus demonstrat  
panem, quem fecit corpus suum.

Et talis cecitas contigit post ligacionem sathane mille  
annis pro tempore solucionis sue, de quibus Apok. XX. 5  
Pro quo notandum primo quod ligacio sathane ac eius  
solucio non erunt nisi restrictio et laxacio potestatis  
sue ad temptandum et seducendum populum | Christi- A 63<sup>a</sup>  
anum. Secundo notandum est dictum spiritus sancti  
Apok. XX ubi dicit sathanam esse ligandum mille annis; 10  
et, post solvendum magnum populum, seducturum per  
Gog et Magog, de quibus Ezech. XXXVII. Sed tercio G.  
notandum secundum Augustinum, 20 *De civitate Dei*, ca- Ezech.  
pitulo 9, pro intellectu prophecie Johannis, quod per illos XXXVIII  
mille annos quibus ligatus est Sathanas, probabilius 15  
intelligi potest sextus millenarius, in quo natus est  
Christus. Constat autem secundum catholicos calculantes  
quod fluxerunt quinque etates mundi terminate ad  
Noe, Abraham, David, transmigracionem et Christum;  
et currebant in illa etate quinque millia annorum; et 20  
amplius secundum varie calculantes fideliter annunt  
Christum natum in 6<sup>o</sup> millenario | etatis mundi. Quod, B 72<sup>b</sup>  
secundum Augustinum, fuit consonum, quia sicut in  
fabrica mundi in principio primus Adam fuit 6<sup>to</sup> die  
creatus et perditus, ut patet Genes. I et III, sic secundus 25  
Adam in 6<sup>to</sup> millenario etatis mundi fuit natus de  
virgine, et per ipsum primus Adam cum genere suo  
est redemptus; ita quod millenarius annorum correspon-  
deat diei in prima seculi septimana. Christus igitur,  
fortis armatus, pro suo millenario custodivit atrium 30  
domus sue; et ideo dicitur, Luc. XI<sup>o</sup>: "Cum fortis ar- Luc.  
matus custodit atrium, in pace sunt omnia que pos- XI, 21  
sidet." Licet enim sathan dissolutus sit ad tempus  
modicum in 6<sup>to</sup> millenario, movens membra sua ad  
occidendum Christum, sicut sexto | die solutus fuit ad A 63<sup>b</sup>  
temptandum primum parentem, hoc tamen fuit ad  
comodum domus Christi. Nec sic seducti erant de H.

1. deberet CD. 5. 2<sup>o</sup> D. 7. relaxacio B. 18. quod deest CD;  
ib. a pro ad B. 24. fabricae ACD; in deest ACD. 31. Dum ACD.

25. It was believed during the Middle Ages that Adam was  
only 7 hours in Paradise. Cf. Dante, *Paradise*, XXVI, v. 139  
and seq. Cary's note quotes Petrus Comestor: "*Quidam tradunt  
eos fuisse in Paradise septem horas*". 26. Aug. *De Trinitate*,  
I, IV, c. 4. (t. 42, p. 892, of Migne).



familia domus dei, ideo omnia que Christus possidet ad beatitudinem sunt in pace, ut patet de apostolis, martiribus, confessoribus et virginibus: quantum parietibus domus sue. Illi enim purgantur et meliorantur 5 tribulationibus, quas ex membris dyaboli paciuntur; heretici enim et presciti non sunt de familia Christi, licet Gog et Magog Christianos simplices persequantur. Gog enim qui interpretatur *tectum* secundum doctores catholicos, signat antichristum; quia secundum leges 10 quas invenit, palliat et *tegit* eclypsacione dampnabili legem Christi, et introducit sectas dampnabiles, qui ut loquitur Jacobus, quasi velamen habentes malicie libertatem, in ypocrisi decipiunt Christianos. Hii sunt qui B 72<sup>e</sup> blasfeme preponderant religionem | quam statuunt supra 15 religionem Christi, quam in quantitate et figura ac colore corruptibilis habitus et non in vita Christi et moribus palliant sectam suam; hii gerunt velamen per quod excecant simplices et in velamine docent in eis malicie libertatem. Et error in hiis signis adinventionum 20 religionis private, sicut et heresis symonie necessitando precesserant errorem de accidentibus sacramenti. Magog autem qui interpretatur *de tecto*, signat complices antichristi, cuiusmodi est tota secta sua, sive sint A 63<sup>e</sup> legiste de scola sua, sive seculares domini |, qui per 25 Magog, id est Antichristi complices, sunt seducti, sive religiosi possessionati vel expropriarii, qui tenent cum Gog et celant et tegunt legem Christi. Lex vero perfecte libertatis docet omnes Christianos debere sequi Christum, sine velamine tegentes eius vestigia, sic quod humilior, 30 pauperior et in nomine Christi ordinate faciens quicquid fecerit devocior, dicitur ex fide ewangelii esse maior. Sed Gog et Magog simulant quod, ut sunt mundo maiores, plus solemnes et cupidi, sunt ex institutione sua apud deum maiores; licet sint membra 35 dyaboli tegentes, ut plurimum, viam Christi. Et ista 1<sup>a</sup> infidelitas Antichristi nimis perturbat ecclesiam; nam ex fide capimus, quod nullus ducatus vel papatus in mundo per se prodest, sed obest fidelibus, nisi de quanto servavit et tenendam docuerit viam Christi. Gog 40 autem cum tota secta sua facit oppositum. Cum enim Matth. XII, 30 Christus dicit: "Qui non est mecum contra me est," B 72<sup>a</sup> patet quod dicit: Gog in vita | et doctrina non observat

Though the devil was loosed for a while, it was for the good of the Church, which triumphed by its Saints.

Gog, whose name means a *roof*, is the Antichrist; because he will cover the law of Christ with damnable excuses.

Of such are those who prefer their private religion to Christ's, thus bearing a veil to blind the simple.

Magog, whose name means 'of a roof' signifies the accomplices of Antichrist, and comprises all those who hide the law of Christ. This law teaches all Christians to follow Christ's footsteps without a veil.

Worldly and greedy, these men claim to be great with God. This infidelity troubles the Church exceedingly; for the pope does rather harm than good, unless he keeps to the path of Christ; from which Gog and his sect go astray.

11. quia ACD. 19. ad invencionum D. 22. deteccio B. 23. modi deest B. 26. ut D. 33, 34. instinccione CD. 36. fidelitas D. 39. servaverit CD.

precipue vitam et legem Christi; non est Christi vicarius, B. sed de dyaboli familia mendacissimus Antichristus.

It the 'thousand years' mean all the devil's reign, St. Augustine has nothing against this.

Si autem per mille annos intelligatur universitas temporis per quod dyabolus sic regnavit in Gog et Magog, sanctus doctor non contradicit; sic tamen quod 5 nullus fidelis sequatur prelatum, nisi de quanto tenuerit et docuerit viam Christi; quia aliter tegit, obliquat et obnubilat viam ad patriam. Et perfecta libertas foret carere tali preposito. Ymo | videtur, quod quicunque A 63<sup>a</sup> scienter communicat cum tali heretico, sit excommuni-

We must stick to the form of Scripture words.

It is better to say simply that Satan is to be bound a thousand years.

catus a deo. Brachium autem seculare conculcans talem hereticum, non communicat eius operibus, sed extinguit. Cum itaque fidelis debet tenere formam verborum scripture sacre cum sensu catholico, quod est longe melius quam vagari in sensu ambiguo, negatis verbis; patet 15 quod catholicus debet concedere sathanam ligari mille annis, ut dicit prophetia Johannis, et post solvi et per Gog et Magog seducere multas gentes. Sive autem per

If we keep to this rule, we are not likely to go astray.

illos mille annos intelligatur sextus millenarius in quo natus est Christus, sive universitas temporis in quo sua 20 malicia reprimetur, potest utrumque intelligi satis catholice. Concedamus igitur formam verborum fidei quam Christus instituit, quia ipsa multum excedit formam verborum, quam extraneando scimus adicere. Item ob-K. servacio illius forme adducit in sensum quem deus 25 intendit, unde ydiote presbiteri observant hanc formam meritorius sine sensu quam despicientes hanc formam circa sensum curiose | vagando.

B 73<sup>a</sup>

This rule applies to the Eucharist too.

Item, si licet fideli hanc formam abicere, licet totam scripturam sacram corrigere et magnam eius partem 30 tanquam hereticam condemnare. Sic enim concedunt socii quidam, quod hereticum et impossibile est panem

There are some that, holding to this rule, say that the bread and wine remain after consecration, contrary to what is ascribed to St. Thomas; but that the bread itself becomes an accident.

et vinum remanere post consecrationem. Sed moderni socii dicunt concorditer, de quo | gaudeo, quod panis A 64<sup>a</sup> et vinum sanctificata sunt hoc sacramentum. Et nullus 35 eorum audet dicere fidem, que inponitur sancto Thome et doctoribus de ordine fratrum minorum. Ex confessione itaque eorum sequitur, quod panis et vinum remanent post consecrationem; quod concedunt, sed negant quod natura panis remanet sacramentum, sed ille panis est 40 accidens, nesciunt cuius generis. Contra hoc primo

4. regnat ACD. 5. tamen *deest* D. 25. inducit B. 31, 32. condemnare et impossibile est panem et socii CD. 31. Sic — concedunt *deest* G.



- manifeste patet, quod si natura istius albi remanet et hoc album est panis, tunc natura panis remanet. Item, cum nec sit fundabile in scriptura sacra nec in dictis sanctorum de sexto millenario, quod panis ille sit quantitas aut qualitas, vel alicuius generis accidentis, videtur presumptuosa stulticia glozare sic fidem scripture, per unum insolitum et infundabile. Secutum igitur est quiescere in nomine panis concesso ab omnibus Christianis, quousque glossa illa per impossibile sit educta.
- L. 10 Item, vel est panis ille corpus Christi vel non. Si sic, non est fundabile quod ille sit quantitas aut qualitas; nec est exponentis glossare speciem limitatam per unum analogum, cuius pars que est genus generalissimum plus quam exponenda species specialissima ignoratur. Nam hoc foret remocius quam sic dicere: "panis est corpus Christi", hoc est: "substantia est corpus Christi"; quod tamen foret nimis remotum, exponere speciem specialissimam propter suum genus generalissimum; longe plus michi foret alienum exponere speciem specialissimam per unum analogum sibi extraneum, cum illa significatio non fundatur. Si autem
- B 73<sup>b</sup> ne | gatur panem illum qui est sacramentum esse corpus Christi, inciditur in errorem Berengarii renovatam per Romanam ecclesiam, ut patet De Consecratione distinctione 2<sup>a</sup>. *Ego Berengarius*, quod est contra fidem scripture, et quatuor magnos doctores. Videat igitur fidelis et iudicet inter ista: textus fidei scripture dicit quod panis est sacramentum altaris et corpus Christi; textus autem alius, fictus et non fundatus, simulat quod non panis, sed unum genus accidentis ignotum, est sacramentum altaris.
- Secundo fidelis dicit quod secta ista intelligit per accidens per se non accidens sed panem et vinum, quorum consideratio est sopita. Sed adversarius scripture sine evidencia dicit se intelligere per panem accidens sine subiecto, quod secundum precipuos doctores non potest adeo intelligi. Et tercio fidelis glosat dicta dicendum, quod accidens est sine subiecto, hoc est, sine subiecto suo principaliter: et sic de consideratione fidelium existente. Sed adversarius dicit, quod tam
- But this is evidently false, and has no foundation either in Scripture or in the early Fathers. It is safer to keep to the word bread, without these explanations.
- If the bread is the body of Christ, it is not an accident.
- It were better to say: "Bread (i. e. substance) is the body of Christ." For that were nearer than to say: Bread (i. e. an accident).
- And if the bread is not Christ's body, Berengarius' error is renewed.
- If by "accident" the nature of bread and wine is meant, how can it be without a subject?
- And if it be said: without a subject in the minds of the faithful, the distinction is disallowed.

9. edocta ACD. 38, 39. hoc — principaliter deest ACD.

10. vel B.

24. ut deest B.

37. glossa B.

24. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, Dist. II, c. 42.

autenticum dictum intelligi debet omnino sine glossa.  
 Et sic qui concedunt quod sacramentum altaris est  
 panis factus sacramentaliter corpus Christi, dicunt hono-  
 rabilius quidditatem sacramenti, quam illi qui fingunt  
 quod est accidens sine subiecto. Nam populus et mille 5  
 episcopi nec intelligunt accidens nec subiectum; quo-  
 modo igitur introduceretur preter fidem scripture tam  
 extranea et impossibilis novitas ad difficultandum fideles  
 specialiter? cum illud accidens quod vocant panem sit  
 infinitum imperfeccioris nature quam panis materialis. 10  
 Non est igitur honor vocare illud accidens corpus Christi,  
 vocandus est itaque panis ce | lestis, sicut vocat | Augu-  
 stinus, non imperfeccior in natura quam panis materialis,  
 sicut fingunt, quod corpus Christi sit abiectissimum in  
 natura. 15  
 Conveniencia itaque duarum sectarum istius materie  
 stat in isto quod utraque concedit panem sensibilem esse  
 tam sacramentum altaris quam etiam corpus Christi.  
 Sed diversificatur in sententia, cum nostra secta dicit  
 quod hoc sacramentum est in natura substantia panis 20  
 corporaliter motiva, sicut dicit autor "De divinis officiis"  
 superius recitatus; sed secta contraria dicit, quod panis  
 ille est accidens per se sine subiecto; et sic intelligitur,  
 ut inquit, quelibet scriptura sacra vocans sacramentum  
 altaris panem. Sed hoc videtur michi difficile propter 25 N.  
 tria; primo, quia secundum beatum Jeronimum, quicun-  
 que pertinaciter exposuerit sacram scripturam aliter  
 quam spiritus sanctus flagitat est hereticus; sed spiritus  
 ille veritatis non flagitat in predictis scripturis fidei illum  
 sensum: igitur etc. Minor patet ex illo Luc. XXIV. 30  
 "Cognoverunt eum in fraccione panis"; et ex illo  
 1 Cor. X: "Panis quem frangimus, nonne communicatio  
 corporis domini est"; et ex illo 1 Cor. XI<sup>o</sup>. "Probet  
 autem se ipsum homo, et sic de pane illo edat." Se-  
 cundo movet me quod magni sancti qui exposuerunt 35  
 fidem scripture pro millenario veritatis Christi, quando  
 ligatus est pater mendacii, exposuerunt illam fidem scrip-  
 ture ad sensum contrarium: ut patet ex dictis Ambrosii  
 in multis locis. Et tercio movet me horror in con-

We speak more  
 honorably of  
 the sacrament,  
 saying that its  
 quiddity is  
 bread, i. e. a  
 substance.

An accident has  
 the lowest  
 possible  
 quiddity.

Both our  
 opinion and  
 theirs hold that  
 the bread is the  
 body of Christ.

But ours makes  
 it natural  
 bread;  
 and the other,  
 an accident  
 without subject.

But, 1<sup>st</sup> it is  
 heretical to  
 expound  
 Scripture  
 contrary to the  
 Spirit.

Quotations to  
 prove that this  
 is not the sense  
 intended.

2<sup>nd</sup> The Early  
 Fathers  
 expounded  
 Scripture  
 otherwise.

3<sup>rd</sup> Many  
 absurdities flow  
 from this  
 theory.

5. apostolus B. 10. quasi D. 13. quasi D. 29. in — scripturis  
 deest B. 32. Panem CD; ib. cui benedicimus B. 33. corporis deest D.  
 35. exposuerant ACD.

26. Jeron. Comment. in Jeremiam, l. 5, c. XXIX (t. 24, p. 859  
 of Migne).

A 64<sup>o</sup>  
 B 73<sup>o</sup>

15

25 N.

30

I. Cor.  
 X, 16  
 and  
 XI, 28

35



- veniencium que sequuntur; inter que hoc unum recito,  
 quod panis qui est sacramentum altaris et per con-  
 A 64<sup>d</sup> sequens corpus Christi, est infinitum | imperfeccius in  
 natura quam panis materialis non consecratus quem  
 B 73<sup>d</sup> pistor efficit vel quam mice | quas edunt catelli de  
 mensa dominorum; vel eciam quam minuta cuiuscunque  
 abiecti panis extrahendi de pera pauperis peregrini, quia  
 est panis abiectissimus quem deus umquam potuit pro-  
 creare. Que si ego pertinaciter defenderem, forem tan-  
 10 quam hereticus comburendus, quia in precipua fide  
 scripture "hoc est corpus meum", fingerem sensum  
 iuxta quem deus faceret ignotum accidens corpus suum.

For instance,  
 that the bread  
 which is  
 Christ's body,  
 is much more  
 imperfect in  
 itself than  
 common bread.

Which if I  
 defended,  
 I ought to be  
 burnt as a  
 heretic.

4. quasi *pro* quam D. 5. quem *pro* quam C; *ib.* catuli B. 7. extra-  
 hendum ABC; *corr.* D. 8. deus *deest* D.

## CAPITULUM SEPTUM.

Some say:  
Christ is  
received under  
the appearance  
of bread:  
these are now  
to be confuted.  
They allege the  
liturgy and  
Augustine.

Especially in  
his work, 'De  
Eucharistia'.

But the minor  
of their  
argument (i. e.  
Augustine and  
the Liturgy  
mean what we  
mean) is false.  
They do not  
even know  
what they  
mean, and their  
words are like  
those of  
magpies.

Sed ulterius arguitur per beatum Gregorium et usum ecclesie, qui dicunt quod corpus Christi in altari sumitur in forma, specie, vel similitudine panis, que non possunt poni nisi accidentia et eukaristia: unde *De Cons. distinc-* 5  
*cione 2, capitulo: Species.* "Species et similitudo illarum rerum vocabula sunt, que ante fuerunt: scilicet panis et vini. Unde in fine cuiusdam misse oratur et dicitur: *Perficient in nobis domine quesumus tua sacramenta que continent, ut que nunc sub specie panis et* 10  
*vini gerimus rerum veritate capiamus.*" Et eadem videtur sententia Augustini in libello, *De Eukaristia*; ubi dicitur ibi scribi. "Nec dubitare debet aliquis, quin panis et vinum convertantur in veram substantiam Christi, ita ut non remaneat substantia panis et vini; cum multa 15  
eciam alia in operibus dei non minus miranda videmus; hominem enim substantialiter mutat deus in lapidem, ut uxorem Loth; et in parvo artificio hominis fenum et silicem in vitrum. Nec credendum quod substantia panis | A 65<sup>a</sup>  
et vini remaneat, sed panis in corpus Christi et vinum 20  
in sangwinem mutatur, solum qualitatibus panis et vini remanentibus."

Hic dicitur, quod minor est falsa. Unde musitantes B. super isto instruerent scolam fidelium | de significacione B 74<sup>a</sup>  
forme, speciei et similitudinis, quia aliter vere diceretur 25  
quod sicut loquuntur ut pice, ignorantes quid sit sacramentum altaris, ita voces ignorant proprias de nominibus harum rerum. Conceditur igitur quod corpus Christi sumitur in forma, specie et similitudine panis, ut dicit

3. que pro qui B. 5. poni deest D. 7. autem AC. 9. Pro-  
ficient B. 11. genus B: *ib.* veritatem B. 14. convertatur B. 18. in  
deest D. 19. filicem ACD. 26. est pro sit ABC.

6. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars. Dist. II, c. 34. 9. St. Greg. Lib. Sa-  
crament. Sabb. in XII lect. (t. 78, p. 142 of Migne). Also, Postcom.  
Sabb. IV Temp. Septembris (Sarum Missal; Dickinson, p. 550).



decretum Gregorii, sed constat quod ex illo non sequitur quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens per se sine subiecto, vel quod nec panis nec vinum remanet sacramentum; sed bene infertur oppositum. Sequitur enim: 5 species et similitudo sunt vocabula panis et vini que ante fuerunt, ergo remanent panis et vinum que ante fuerunt; quia aliter forent nimis falsa vocabula rerum que non possunt esse: que foret conclusio ydiote. Et sic sub specie panis et vini gerimus hic figuram esus celestis, quo manducabimus in patria visione beatifica loco fidei corpus Christi.

Et quantum ad allegatum de beato Augustino videtur tam ex stilo quam ex sententia quod nunquam erant ista verba vel sententia Augustini, quia nec sunt in 15 legibus vel posterioribus doctoribus communiter allegata; sed eorum opposita in libris Augustini communibus C. crebrius inculcata. Ideo dicunt quidam quod ista sunt verba cuiusdam gandofoli, qui istud mendacium dicitur fabricasse; secundo dicitur quod ista dicta sunt sermoinaliter ab Augustino, Anglorum episcopo; et tercio dicitur quod quidam discipuli magni Augustini post eius 20 obitum taliter fuerunt locuti: ut Aurelius et alii. | Sed esto quod ista sint verba magni Augustini doctoris scriptis suis famosis contraria; tunc dicitur quod primum est 25 verum, quod panis et vinum convertuntur in corpus Christi et sanguinem. Secundum dictum est | verum et pertinens quod sicut uxor Loth versa est in statuas Gen. salis, Genes. XIX, et fenum et silex in vitrum ut testatur XIX, 26 experientia, sic quodammodo miraculose panis et vinum 30 convertuntur in corpus Christi et sanguinem, sed in dictis mirabilibus manet eadem essentia sub utroque terminorum, sicut in transsubstantiacione ista supernaturali remanet tam panis quam vini essentia; et cum sit miraculose corpus Christi et sanguis, sopita consideratione quidditatis panis et vini, sortitur nomen excellencius secundum religionem quam ex fide scripture credimus: cum vere et realiter virtute verborum sacramentalium fiunt corpus Christi et sanguis. Quomodo autem hoc fiat, cum nec fiat per viam ydemptificationis, 40 nec inpanacionis, debet fidelis sedule perscrutari. Ego

Christ is indeed received under the appearance of bread.

But if the appearance correspond to that which was before, then the bread really does remain.

Authenticity of the quotation denied, because it is never cited anywhere.

It may be that one Gandofolus forged these words;

that St. Augustine of England or a disciple of the great Augustine spoke them. But were they by Augustine, he would contradict himself; so we should stand by the other passages. Besides they can be explained. In the instance of Lot's wife and flint changed into glass, their essence remains. So also of the Eucharist.

This is done neither by identification nor by impanation:

3. remaneat B. 15. pastoribus CD. 16, 17. sed — inculcata deest B.  
22. Ancelinus B. 28. filex ABD. 29. sed C; *ib.* sed miraculose C.  
32. sic B; *ib.* translacione B. 36. sed C; sed secundum D. 37. ex  
virtute B.

but rather by  
a sacramental  
conversion.

To make  
Augustine say  
that only the  
qualities remain  
is to slander  
him;  
for all admit  
that not only  
qualities, but  
quantity, and  
seven other  
sorts of  
accidents,  
remain.

Yet we may  
say that the  
sensible  
qualities alone  
remain because  
they alone are  
present to our  
mind.

And the word  
'form' can be  
taken for the  
substantial  
form (as in  
Scripture).

And also for  
the accidental  
form:

So when the  
substantial  
form of bread  
is seen by the  
mental eye,  
Christ appears  
under that  
form.

autem intelligo hoc fieri per viam sacramentalis conversionis, aut quocunque alio nomine ista mutacio catholice sit detecta. Tercium autem verbum impositum D. Augustino: quod non remanet substantia panis aut vini, sed solum eorum qualitates, capit calumpniam; cum necesse sit quantitates et septem alia genera respectum remanere; in tantum quod subtiliores et famosiores ecclesie dicunt quod sacramentum per se remanens est quantitas, septem aliis generibus accidencium informata. Illi igitur in pugnabunt istam sentenciam. Sed potest dici 10 quod panis et vinum non remanent post consecrationem | in actu distincto considerationis fidelium, sed A 65<sup>e</sup> tantummodo sensibiles qualitates. Licet enim | quantitas B 74<sup>e</sup> remaneat, tamen iuxta testimonium Averrois non est de genere activorum, sed consequitur materiam primam que 15 habet dimensiones interminatas. Non valet igitur Gog et Magog pro tempore solucionis patris mendacii fingere super isto sancto mendacia.

Sed ulterius notandum, pro istis tribus vocabulis, quod forma quandoque accipitur pro forma substantiali, et 20 quandoque pro forma accidentali. Exemplum primi est dictum ad Philippens. II<sup>o</sup>: "Cum in forma dei esset, Philipp. II, 6, 7 non rapinam arbitratus est esse se equalem deo, sed semet ipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens"; ubi fidei non debet verti in dubium, quin per "formam 25 dei" et "formam servi" intelligitur deitas atque humanitas, quibus Christus est duplex substantia, scilicet deus et homo. Secundo modo accipitur pro forma accidentali E. accepta largius vel striccius, ut in scriptura communiter accipitur pro qualitate secunda ex substantia quantitate 30 et qualitate prioribus resultante. Et sic corpus Christi videtur per fidem sub forma panis, quando forma substantialis panis videtur oculo mentali et forma accidentalis panis videtur oculo corporali, sed corde creditur quod corpus Christi veraciter est in pane. Species autem 35

1. hec B. 16. et *deest* CD. 21. primum D. 23. rapina AD.  
24. semet *deest* ACD. 26. intelliguntur D.

20. We may note here that 'substantial form' can be taken in two senses, both of which imply that the substance exists. In one, the form is only a part, but the part that determines the rest to be what it is. In the other it is the abstract expression of all that makes the subject: as, *humanity*. Wyclif cleverly avails himself of these scholastic senses of 'form' to get out of the difficulty.



accipitur, nunc pro forma substanciali communi vel in-  
 Gen. I dividua, ut patet Genesis I<sup>o</sup>; et nunc pro forma acci-  
 passim. dentali, ut psalmo XLIV<sup>o</sup>: "Specie tua et pulchritudine  
 Ps. tua"; et ita similitudo nunc accipitur pro forma sub-  
 XLIV, 5 stanciali, exemplata a suo principio; ut verbum dei et  
 spiritus hominis dicuntur "similitudo dei patris" vel "ad  
 B 74<sup>a</sup> similitudinem trinitatis"; et quandoque accipitur | "si-  
 A 65<sup>a</sup> militudo" pro forma | accidental: sive sit relacio sive  
 qualitas secunda in quantitate fundata. Unde Augustinus  
 10 in sermone "De sacramento altaris" et ponitur: *De con-*  
*secratione* distincione secunda "*Utrum sub figura*" —  
 "Nichil," inquit, "racionabilius quam ut, quia nos si-  
 militudinem mortis Christi in baptismo accepimus, simili-  
 tudinem quoque corporis et sanguinis eius sumamus."  
 15 Illa autem similitudo non potest esse accidens sine  
 subiecto.

Per ista potest intelligi textus Gregorii loquentis de  
 nomine vel vocabulo reali; "sed absit fidelem concludere  
 accidens esse sine subiecto; ut non oportet sed repugnat,  
 20 si spiritus sanctus apparuit in specie columbe, ut dicitur  
 Luce III<sup>o</sup>, tunc illa species fuit accidens sine subiecto.  
 Deus enim nunquam illudit hominibus per ista mendacia,  
 licet talibus sepe similitudinibus substernat peregrinas  
 F. substancias". Unde Augustinus in "*De Agone Chri-*  
 25 *stiano*" sic inquit: "Hinc accedit magnum sacramentum,  
 ut, quia per feminam nobis mors acciderat, vita nobis  
 per feminam donaretur; ut de utraque natura scilicet  
 feminea et masculina devictus dyabolus cruciaretur; qui  
 de ambarum subversione letabatur, cui parum fuerat ad  
 30 penam si ambe nature in nobis liberarentur nisi etiam  
 per ambas liberaremur. Neque hoc ita dicimus, ut domi-  
 num Jesum Christum solum verum corpus dicamus  
 habuisse; spiritum autem sanctum fallaciter apparuisse  
 oculis hominum, sed ambo illa corpora vera credamus  
 35 corpora". "Sicut enim," inquit, "non oportebat, ut homines

And the word  
 'species' is  
 taken for both  
 accidental and  
 substantial  
 form.  
 Examples.

And the word  
 'similitudo' is  
 also taken for  
 'substance'  
 sometimes; as  
 in Augustine,  
 who speaks of  
 receiving the  
 similitude of  
 Christ's body.

St. Gregory  
 says we must  
 not suppose  
 that  
 'appearance'  
 means an  
 accident  
 without subject,  
 when the Holy  
 Ghost was seen  
 under the  
 appearance of  
 a dove;  
 For God does  
 not delude men.

And Augustine,  
 speaking of the  
 Incarnation,  
 says that  
 Christ's body  
 was a true one.

9. qualitate B. 13. accepit AB. 23. et peregrinas D. 27. da-  
 retur B; *ib.* scilicet *deest* B.

11. Decr. Grat. Dist. II, c. 72. This 72<sup>nd</sup> chapter seems made  
 up of quotations from Paschasius, according to the note of Fried-  
 berg's Leipzig edition. Olgerus ascribes it to Augustine, 'De sacra-  
 mento altaris'; which is not the title of any of his works now  
 extant. 24. Aug. De Agone Christiano, c. XXII (t. 40, p. 303,  
 of Migne).

falleret spiritus | Dei | sic non oportebat ut homines <sup>A 66\*</sup>  
falleret spiritus sanctus sed salvos faceret; omnipotenti <sup>B 75\*</sup>

And that it was  
as easy for God  
to create the  
body of Christ,  
as the body of  
a dove; so as  
not to deceive  
men.

All the Doctors  
agree that God  
does not delude  
His Church.

Such opinions  
as imply the  
contrary are  
blamable.  
For instance,  
when they  
make the word  
'bread' in  
I Cor. X apply  
to Christ alone  
because the  
same material  
bread can be  
eaten by only  
one man once.

Which  
assertion is  
proved by  
Scripture to be  
untrue.

Many offerings  
may be one  
'bread'  
individually.

The Apostle  
describes the  
Lord's Supper  
among  
Christians: his  
remark.

autem domino deo, qui universam creaturam de nichilo,  
sicut potuit et voluit, fabricavit, non erat difficile verum  
corpus sumere columbe, sive aliarum columbarum mi-  
nisterio figurare, sicut non fuit difficile ei verum corpus  
sumere in utero Marie sine virili communione; cum  
creatura corporea, et in visceribus femine ad formandum  
hominem, et in ipso mundo ad formandam columbam,  
imperio domini voluntatique serviret." Voluit autem iste <sup>10 G.</sup>  
sanctus, sicut et omnes fideles doctores, quod sicut deus  
non simulat mendacium nec illudit ecclesie, sic non sunt  
fingenda miracula nec scripture sententia, nisi ex deo  
fuerint evidenter patencia.

Unde culpandi sunt qui claudicantes utroque latere <sup>15</sup>  
blasphemant in sensum scripture apostoli. Hii vero fin-  
gunt, quod loquitur I ad Cor. X solum de pane Christo, <sup>I. Cor. X,</sup>  
qui de celo descendit. In cuius evidenciam notant tex-  
tum apostoli dicentis "Quocienscunque manducabitis  
panem", quod solum potest intelligi de Christo, cum <sup>20</sup>  
nec multi, nec aliqui multociens manducant eundem  
panem materialem. Sed sic arguentes notarent logicam  
scripture ad convincendum suam stulticiam, ut in prin-  
cipio religionis sue Act. IV<sup>o</sup>, quo dicitur quod "multi-  
tudinis credencium erat cor unum et anima una"; et <sup>25</sup>  
I<sup>a</sup> Cor. X: "Unus panis et unum corpus multi sumus"; et  
signanter Levit. XXIII: "Vocabitis hunc diem celebra-  
rium atque sanctissimum; omne opus servile non  
facietis in eo; legitimum sempiternum erit in cunctis  
habitaculis et generacionibus vestris". <sup>Act. IV, 32</sup>

Istis notatis patet quod quicumque quocienscunque  
comederint hostiam consecratam manducant eundem <sup>B 75<sup>b</sup></sup>

panem materialem, cum omnes ille hostie sunt idem  
panis in numero; et sic multociens comedit homo datum  
panem; quia, ut noverunt philosophi, homo interpollat <sup>35</sup>  
multociens in quocunque esu corporali cum dicit se  
accepisse a domino, quomodo Jesus accepit panem in  
manus suas, pro nocte cene; et de illo pane ac sibi  
correspondente prosequitur, et unum dicit esse ebrum

1. sanctus pro Dei ABCD. 1, 2. sic — sed deest ACD. 4. difficile  
ei ACB. 7. viri commixtione B. 17. I deest C. 17—21. pane  
Christo... cum deest ACD. 39. dedit B.

10. The whole of this passage varies much from the text of  
Augustine. After *communione*, l. 7, Augustine has *fabricare*.



et alium esurire post cenam illam, in qua indubie cenantes vescebantur pane et vino corporali, ut per hoc pascantur spiritualiter in memoriam passionis Christi. Ideo apostolus vocat eam cenam dominicam.

- 5 Unde glossa communis (et sumitur a beato Ambrosio) exponit illud verbum apostoli I Cor. XI "unusquisque enim cenam suam presumit ad manducandum." "Notat," inquit, "illos qui munera que offerebant altaribus sibi resumebant, nec aliis non habentibus communicare vole-
- 10 bant; offerebant enim divites panem et vinum habundanter, ut benedictione et consecratione sacerdotali sanctificaretur, et dominici corporis et sanguinis sacramentum confirmaretur. Post celebrationem vero sacri misterii et consecrationem panis et vini, suas oblationes
- 15 vendicabant et, aliis non communicantibus, soli sumebant | ut inde etiam inebriarentur, aliis esurientibus". Et hec fuit irreligiosa presumpcio facta in memoria Christi
1. qui dilexit in ordine suo habere omnia in communi. Et
- B 75<sup>e</sup> patet quod apostolus loquitur de pane corporali. Et
- 20 tercio moveret fidelis forma verborum apostoli; nam cum 'quotiens' dicit interpollacionem, debemus autem manducare spiritualiter corpus Christi in natura sua quotidie atque continue, patet quod apostolus loquitur de manducacione corporali que per vices debet fieri;
- 25 scribit enim Augustinus, super Joh. omelia 25<sup>a</sup>: "Crede et manducasti": cum igitur semper debemus credere, patet quod semper debemus spiritualiter manducare, sed sacramentaliter per vices: turpe itaque foret quod ignorancia merdosa sophismatis in uno ydiota seduceret ec-
- 30 clesiam in antiquo sensu fidei scripture.
- Sed homo peccati nititur multipliciter cumulare inconvenientia super ecclesiam. Nititur enim inpugnare ut heresim illum cantum ecclesie.

- 35 Hic presens testatur dies  
Currens per anni circulum,  
Quod solus a sede patris  
Mundi salus adveneris.

The Gloss explains this passage, saying that the rich refused to share their offerings with the poor.

And thus some were drunken, and some hungry. It is evident that the Apostle here makes mention of corporal bread. The word 'quotiens' implies a thing done several times. Augustine has words to the same effect.

It is therefore shameful ignorance and sophistry to suppose that we cannot eat sacramentally more than once. All this proceeds from the malice of the Man of Sin.

7. enim *deest* B. 17. in memoriam CD. 18. dixit B. 20. fidelis A. 29. merdosa CD; *ib.* sophistis C.

7. Wyclif is mistaken in his quotation. The Glossa ordinaria is by Walefridus Strabo; this passage is from Raban Maur's Enarr. in Epp. Pauli, l. XI, c. 11 (t. 112, p. 102, of Migne). 25. Aug. In Jo. Tract. XXV, t. 35, p. 1602 of Migne. 34. Hymn at Matins on Christmas Day, *Sarum Breviary*, Procter I, CLXXI. Ascribed to St. Ambrose. See Migne, t. 17, p. 1201.

The same day  
can occur  
several times  
as the Church  
hymn says.  
Every year we  
sing: "This is  
the day that the  
Lord hath  
made".

And the priest  
repeats every  
day: *As often  
as ye do  
this....*  
All this could  
be done only  
once!

*Digression.* The  
Man of Sin  
proclaims  
heretical the  
right of  
temporal lords  
to take the  
temporalities  
from the  
Church;  
Yet the bishops  
rob the poor:  
which is worse.

And as the  
Church goods  
belong to the  
poor, the king  
dom ought to be  
aided by them,  
when necessary.

The unjust  
division of  
endowments  
makes 'one  
priest to be  
drunken and  
another  
hungry'.

If we wish for  
the fruit of the  
sacrament, we  
must share our  
temporalities  
with others.

Si enim conceperit quod eadem dies natalis domini  
evenerit annuatim, posset faciliter intelligere quod ec-  
clesia annuatim manducat hanc cenam domini. Ad cuius  
noticiam expergefaceret quod ecclesia canit annuatim in  
repetita solemnitate paschali, "Hec dies quam fecit do-  
minus". Et sacerdos quotidie celebrando dicit sine men-  
dacio quod Christus "accepit hunc preclarum calicem  
in sanctas ac venerabiles | manus suas." Et quod plus A 66<sup>4</sup>  
movet, sacerdos auctoritate Christi quotidie repetit; "Hec  
quocienscunque feceritis in mei memoriam facietis." Sed 10 K.  
iuxta istam insaniam hec facta singularia nullociens pos-  
sent fieri. Sicut igitur procuravit quod | nedum regnum B 75<sup>4</sup>  
nostrum, sed ut ipsi episcopi publicarentur heretici, ita  
vellet hereticare usum universalis ecclesie.

Vellet enim hereticare, quod domini temporales pos-  
sent auferre temporalia ab ecclesia delinquente; et per  
consequens regnum et episcopi qui in parliamentis con-  
sentiunt quod domini temporales regni nostri licite  
auferunt temporalia ab ecclesiis exteris, eciam spoliando;  
sed per tallagia auferunt multa temporalia a paupere 20  
ecclesia Anglicana. Lex vero dei precipit, quod cicius  
omnes dotaciones quibus clerus dotatur in Anglia au-  
ferantur, antequam iste ablaciones sic continuentur. Unde,  
ut alias declaravi, regnum nostrum instaret in parla-  
mentis quod de bonis temporalibus cleri magis vacanti-  
bus rex et regnum ad eius subsidium releventur; omnia  
enim ista sunt bona pauperum, de quibus propter super-  
fluitatem et ocium regnum debet pro tempore necessitatis  
citissime relevari: et potissime cum istud posset fieri ex-  
oneratis religiosis et episcopis habentibus religiose tan-  
tum de temporalibus, quantum oportet ad explecionem  
sui ministerii. Et communitas populi regni nostri in qua  
super alia regna stat eius prosperitas salvaretur. Moveret | A 67<sup>a</sup>  
autem sacerdotes qui debent conficere corpus Christi  
supra dicta sententia apostoli, quod ipsi precipue debent 35  
habere omnia in communi, sed unus esurit et alius est  
ebrius propter iniquam particionem patrimonii crucifixi.  
Recolerent, inquam, illius sentencie apostoli I. Cor. X. X, 17  
"Unus panis et unum | corpus multi sumus, omnes qui B 76<sup>a</sup>  
de uno pane et de uno calice participamus." Si igitur 40  
vendicamus fructuose participare corporis sacramentum,

4. eciam B. 6. quasi quotidie B. 10. meam B. 20. tallagia B.  
23. oblaciones CD; *ib.* continuerentur B. 29. istis CD; *ib.* potest B.  
36. unus quidem B. 37. inquam C. 38. I deest CD. 41. sacramenti C.



debemus observare legem naturalem, membrorum communicando temporalia quantum oportet ad sustentacionem cuiusque membri, sine superfluo reservato. Quod cum pertinaciter omittimus, manifeste patet, quod non  
5 sumus fructus corporis Christi participes.

L. Ex isto textu apostoli videtur probabiliter inferri, quod in tempore suo et continue post servabatur fides in

Grecia, quod sacramentum altaris sit essentia panis et vini; quia tantum organum spiritus sancti non omisisset  
10 discernere hanc heresim, si cum istis paribus scivisset esse hereticum quod post consecracionem panis et vini substantia remaneret. Nunc autem vocat ipsum regulariter panem et nunquam accidens; sicut beatus Ambrosius, Johannes Damascenus, et usus illius ecclesie usque  
15 hodie contestantur. Secundum devium, in sensu scripture nimis peccat in logica, ponens regulariter sanctum apostolum intelligere per panem sacramentalem vel cenam dominicam, non panis substantiam, sed accidens sine subiecto; et sic nedum intelligit per panem in scriptura  
A 67<sup>b</sup> apostoli illis | duobus capitulis accidens sine subiecto, sed regulariter in quadruplici ewangelio per panem sacramentalem intelligit accidens sine subiecto.

Et ista heresis ad tantum perturbat ecclesiam quod prelati eius vix intelligunt oracionem dominicam. Scribit

25 enim Augustinus libro II<sup>o</sup>, "de sermone domini in monte", quomodo ista quarta peticio: *panem nostrum*

B 76<sup>b</sup> *quotidianum da nobis hodie*, que ponitur | Math. VI<sup>o</sup> in-

telligi potest sane tripliciter; primo quod per panem quotidianum intelligitur universitas vescibilium, que huius

30 vite necessitatem sustentant. Quamvis enim docemur regnum dei et iusticiam eius primo querere, tamen post triplicem petitionem correspondentem trinitati increate,

licet nobis istud petere quod Christus pangit nobis adicere. Et ista videtur sententia Johannis Crisostomi, opere

35 imperfecto, omelia 14: Unde quia non debemus esse solliciti circa panem istum in crastinum, ideo Christus vocat ipsum quotidianum et nobis esse hodie exhiben-

M. dum. Secundus sensus catholicus quem Augustinus approbat est quod per 'panem quotidianum' intelligitur

40 sacramentum altaris, quod licet non quotidie sacramen-

This passage of the Apostle proves the faith of the Greeks; for if it had been heretical to believe that the substance of bread and wine remained after consecration, he would never have used those terms.

This heresy troubles the Church so much that she cannot even understand the Lord's Prayer. 'Give us our daily bread' can have three several senses: the first, referring to mere corporal food;

the second, to the Holy Sacrament.

9. omissis C. 20. duabus B. 21. irregulariter B. 29. intelligatur B. 37. ipsum deest B.

25. Aug. De Sermone Domini etc., I. II, c. 7. Migne, t. 34, p. 1280.

The third, to  
the observation  
of God's law.

And  
St. Augustine  
says that we  
must take these  
three meanings  
together, as  
one.

Now the new  
heresy renders  
it impossible to  
understand the  
words in this  
manner.  
"Give us our  
accident  
without its  
subject," their  
prayer should  
be.  
Even heathens  
would laugh at  
that.

Digression  
explaining the  
different parts  
of the Lord's  
Prayer.

Three petitions  
referring to  
God;

Four, to the  
Church.

We must love  
our holy  
mother, the  
Church, more  
than ourselves.

This being a  
law of nature,  
it follows that

there is no  
dispense for it.

Therefore the  
clergy ought to  
lead a life of  
poverty and  
have all things  
in common.

If not, they are  
1<sup>st</sup> simoniacs;

taliter sumamus, tamen quotidie in ecclesia conficitur,  
vel a fidelibus spiritualiter sumitur ad salutem. Unde,  
ad commemorandum nostram quotidianam egenciam,  
signanter petitur hodie nobis dari. Tercius sensus quem  
sanctus plus approbat, est quod per panem quotidianum 5  
intelligitur preceptorum divinorum observacio, de qua idem  
precipit Joh. 6: "Operamini non cibum qui | perit"; et A 67<sup>e</sup>  
post exposicionem istius sensus catholici concludit sanctus: Joh.  
"Si quis," inquit, "illam de victu corporis necessario, VI, 27  
vel de sacramento dominici corporis sentenciam istam vult 10  
accipere, oportet ut conjuncte accipiantur ista tria: ut  
scilicet panem quotidianum simul petamus, et necessarium  
corpori et sacramentum visibile et verbum dei invisibile".

Ista autem heresis tantum obnubilavit | ecclesiam quod B 76<sup>e</sup>  
prelati, eciam maiores, ignorant hunc sensum medium 15  
orationis dominice. Balbuciant enim fideles petere:  
"panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie"; hoc est,  
"accidens nostrum sine subiecto da nobis pro toto tem-  
pore presentis miserie"; quem sensum eciam ethnici  
deriderent, cum inpertinens sit a patre summo petere 20  
tale accidens nobis dari.

Teneamus igitur antiquam sentenciam de oracione N.  
dominica, quomodo dividitur in duo: primo, quod tria  
petuntur in quibus trinitas est placata, in cuius signum  
triplex pronomen *tuum* in triplici prima petitione sibi 25  
dirigitur. Sed in secunda parte, continente petitiones  
quatuor pro sancta matre ecclesia, quadruplex pronomen  
*nostra* et *nos* inseritur, ad denotandum quod debemus  
super omnia deum diligere et consequenter debemus  
plus nobis diligere sanctam matrem ecclesiam: et cum 30  
hoc sit de lege communi nature, patet quod antichristus  
non potest hoc tollere, nec cum contrario dispensare;  
igitur clerici dispensatores sacramenti altaris debent vi-  
vere pauperem vitam et habere omnia in communi, a  
quo si perti | naciter deficiunt sunt symoniace heretici, A 67<sup>d</sup>  
blasphemi sacrilegi et anathematici apostate, capitales  
discipuli antichristi; prima pars patet ex hoc quod de-  
scriptive simonia est inordinata volicio temporalia pro  
spiritualibus commutanti: ut patet primo capitulo "De

7. non *deest* B; non perit B. 8. huius B. 11. omnia ista B. 15. igno-  
rent B. 18. nobis hodie B. 29. deum *deest* BCD. 30. ecclesia *deest* BCD.

39. "Describunt autem periti symoniam, quod est inordinata  
volicio temporalia pro spiritualibus commutandi" (*J. Wyclif, De  
Simonia*, c. I, p. 2).



*symonia*". Cum igitur omnis affectans dotacionem cleri supra statum expropriarium, quem Christus instituit, habet huiusmodi volicionem inordinatam, manifeste patet

and no one desiring the endowment of the clergy can escape heresy.

O. quod omnis talis sit symoniace hereticus. Et confirmatur

B 76<sup>a</sup> ex hoc quod seculares prin | cipes habent precipue potestatem in seculari dominio, quam clerus nititur per suam dotacionem minuere; sed hoc est ordinacioni dei

Rom. XIII, 2

resistere. Unde pertinenter dicit apostolus Rom. XIII, 2 "Qui resistit potestati, dei ordinacioni resistit"; deus

To strive for an endowment is to diminish the resources of the State, and to resist the Powers.

10 enim ordinavit seculares potestates stare in suo dominio, et clerum suum ordinavit vivere de temporalibus elemosinis secularium, ad revocandum eos tam per vitam quam per doctrinam a seculo. Sed constat ecclesie, quod Antichristus resistit utrimque ordinacioni divine in secta sua

15 omnimode procurando contrarium. Non tamen credi debet, quin secularis debet secundum formam ewangelii clericis de vite necessariis providere; quia, nisi hoc fecerint in mensura, numero et pondere, exciderent a suo dominio, sicut excidunt dando stulte contra trinitatem

Yet it is the duty of the secular powers to provide the clergy with what is necessary to its maintenance; they will come to ruin, if they do not.

20 predictam clero dotacionem perpetuam. Et in pertinacia istius heresis totus mundus corrumpitur. Et secunda pars patet ex hoc, quod contra sacras leges sapientie

2<sup>nd</sup> Blasphemers and sacrilegious men; for they seek to pollute the Church with worldliness. 3<sup>rd</sup> they are anathema.

P. 25 I. Cor. XVI, 22

blasfemum sacrilegium. Tercia pars patet ex textu apostoli I Cor. ultimo: "Si quis non amaverit dominum

For, not keeping Christ's law, they do not love Him; those especially who ought to protest and who do not.

Jo. XIV, 23 Jac. II, 10

30 nisi observaverit legem suam, cum ipsemet dicat Joannis XIV: "Si quis diligit me, sermonem meum servabit" cui iunctum illud Jacobi II<sup>o</sup>: "Qui offendit in uno factus est omnium reus", patet in facto, quomodo

B 77<sup>a</sup> clerus anathematizatus apostatat et specialiter proditores | veritatis qui mutescunt clamare contra has hereses; sunt

enim causa quare corruunt leges Christi. Quod si obicitur: iuxta istam sententiam dominos temporales debere habere omnia in communi; concedi debet conclusio; quicquid enim habuerit potentatus seculi, et non ad edificacionem totius ecclesie conformiter legi Christi, habet illud tyrannice, sed sicut aliam quantitatem et

Objection: Your argument goes to prove that temporal lords too should have all in common. Answer: So they ought, in a different way, but all should be for the good of the Church.

40 qualitatem cibi habent muscoli et aliam oculi, sic debet esse de membris ecclesie, cum clerus de subtili vivens debet cibaria residuo subtiliter preparare.

14. utrique B.  
31. cum pro in B.

26. I deest C.

30. iunctum CD; ib. ultimo B.

## CAPITULUM OCTAVUM.

### De multiplicacione corporis Christi.

Uterius restat videre de multiplicacione corporis Christi, in qua materia, sicut multiplicantur ficticie de multiplicacione sacerdotum et membrorum ecclesie, sic multiplicantur mendacia de multiplicacione corporis Christi in eukaristia.

Three ways of understanding this word: "multiplication of Christ's body".  
1<sup>st</sup> That the same body should be quantitatively in several places at once.  
2<sup>nd</sup> Quantitatively in one place, virtually in many.  
3<sup>rd</sup> By nature in one, by power in many. Instances of this third way: a king is somehow in all his kingdom; a universal in all its individuals.

Tribus autem modis potest intelligi multiplicacio corporis Christi. Primo, quod idem corpus in numero secundum se totum dimensionaliter simul sit per quantumcunque diversa loca; secundo | modo, quod idem A 68<sup>b</sup> corpus in numero simul sit dimensionaliter per unum locum et virtualiter in natura sua per alium. Et utraque istarum multiplicacionum est famosa apud diversas sectas in materia de eukaristia. Tercia via, quod idem corpus 15 sit tantum per unum locum sibi adequatum secundum naturam eiusdem sed in signis aut virtutibus sit simul per diversa loca, sicut corpus Christi est in qualibet particula hostie consecrate, et rex secundum Augustinum est simul in multis partibus regni sui. Sicut enim idem 20 commune multiplicatur in quolibet eius supposito, cum sit illorum quodlibet, sic corpus Christi multiplicatur B 77<sup>b</sup> in qualibet hostia consecrata, cum sit quodammodo illarum quolibet; nec in natura sua recipit denominationes varias, licet ipsa signa multipliciter varientur. Et sic 25 corpus Christi est vel virtualiter, vel cum hoc sacramentaliter hic nobiscum.

1. The first way is inadmissible; for any quantity would then be infinitely great.

Contra primum replicatum est alibi quod omne quantum est infinitum magnum; quia da quod non, pedalis

1. Capitulum et titulus desunt ABD. q. Christi deest ACD; ib. primo-modo E. 21. comune CD. 21, 22. cum sit illorum quodlibet deest ACD.

28. Here Wyclif commences a series of arguments that are very difficult to follow, partly on account of the reasoning in itself (*reductio ad absurdum*) partly because of probable copyists' errors. There is a like and still less comprehensible series in *De Benedicta Incarnatione*.



B. quantitas contra ipsa est tam magna sicut potest esse;  
sed infinitum magna potest esse; igitur infinitum magna  
est. Supposito maiori, patet minor ex opinione; quia  
illa quantitas potest per multiplicacionem secundum di-  
5 versas partes extendi per totum mundum et per con-  
sequens equari toti mundo: et sic in infinitum. Et sic  
punctus foret linea, superficies, et corporeitas et qua-  
liscunque species figure, foret figura contrarie speciei;  
et sic qualiscunque numerus sensibilis multiplicatorum  
10 hominum foret qualiscunque numerus: et eodem modo  
de tempore et loco. Si enim hora secundum partes esset  
A 68<sup>e</sup> infinitum continuata, infinitum longum tempus foret;  
sed hoc iuxta adversarios posset fieri; igitur infinitum  
longum potest quodcunque tempus esse; et periret omnis  
15 certitudo quantitatis. Et cum illa sit maxima, periret  
omnis certitudo.

Eodem autem modo reducitur de qualitate; nam nat-  
uralis potencia multiplicata in infinitum multum posset  
facere, et sic infinitum magna potencia foret; ymmo  
20 quelibet qualitas corporea infinitum intensa foret; quia  
per viam varie extensionis infinitam intensionem sub  
equali quantitate posset acquirere; ut cum hoc posset  
B 77<sup>e</sup> esse sine alteracione | eiusdem qualitatis, sequitur quod  
omnis talis qualitas sit infinitum intensa. Si enim eadem  
25 albedo foret infinicies multiplicata, per eundem situm  
foret infinitum inmutativa visus et sic de ceteris qua-  
litatibus, et ratione duarum qualitatum eque forcium  
coextensarum et qualitative componencium unum totum,  
foret qualitas resultans in duplo intensior: et sic in  
30 infinitum. Et sic ad omnem punctum foret infinitum  
intensa qualitas; quia infinitum foret varie compositio  
qualitatis: et tamen tota foret eadem qualitas. Et sic  
eadem species singularis in anima potest significare  
naturaliter infinita. Et conformiter arguitur de alijs  
35 generibus accidentis.

C. Tercio arguitur de qualitatibus, que sapiunt privacio-  
nem, ut de raritate, de azimitate, claritate et suis

A foot, v. g. measured against it would be as great as it could be: i. e. infinitely so; for the multiplication of this quantity, by hypothesis, is indefinite; therefore also that of its measure. Other absurdities noted.

The same argument may be applied against the hypothesis of the same natural quality existing in several places: as all quality has some force, there might be an infinite amount of force. Concrete example: whiteness.

This quality being the same, would thus be infinitely intense as existing in all space.

Another argument, drawn from negative qualities,

1. ita B. 2. sed *deest* CD. 3. Supposita CD; *ib.* quod B.  
6. in *deest* B. 12. contaminata B. 16. quelibet BCD. 21. coexten-  
sionis B. 22. essentiali CD; *ib.* et B. 26. alijs BD. 27. secunda-  
rum B. 28. qualitudine D. 32. cum *omnes* MSS.

37. *Azymitas*, a word barbarously coined according to the School (*panitas*, *equinitas*, *asinitas* etc.) to express the state of being unleavened.

The Sacrament  
would be  
infinitely rare  
and dense at  
once;

infinitely  
unleavened too;  
while the  
sacrament of  
the Greeks,  
infinitely  
leavened, would  
consequently be  
of a different  
species from  
ours.

Besides, a  
priest could, if  
he had the  
power to  
multiply  
quantity in this  
fashion, put  
two men, one  
in England and  
the other in  
India, in  
instantaneous  
communication  
with each other.

And these two  
persons,  
moving  
however slowly  
thus multiplied  
in quantity  
could be  
together at  
once.  
Which would  
overthrow the  
laws of  
movement and  
of time.

oppositis. Videtur enim quod infinitum magna sit raritas relicta in hostia consecrata; quia omnis que fuit in aliqua parte materie panis infinitum magna fuit in aliqua eius parte intensiva; | quia, ut fingunt, infinite materie A 68<sup>4</sup> prime poterunt coextendi; ex quo cum dei omnipotencia 5 sequitur, quod infinitum magna sit raritas in sacramento altaris. Et certum est quod comiscetur aliqua densitas. Non enim negandus est sensus, quin sicut sacramentum est album, ut dicit Thomas super distinctione 12, questione prima, sic est tam rarum quam 10 densum cum aliis denominationibus que prius infuerunt pani. Et sic ecclesia nostra occidua habet sacramentum infinitum azimum; quia ita azimum sicut deus potest creare, cum sit pure sine fermento: et alterius speciei foret sacramentum nostrum | a sacramento Grecorum. B 77<sup>4</sup> Et de subtilitate vel claritate videtur tanta remanere sicut fuit in aliqua parte materie.

Quarto, videtur sequi de possibili sacerdote, quod ipse posset communicare Petrum in Anglia cum Paulo in India, neutro umquam movente localiter adversus reli- 20 quum, posito quod Petrus sacerdos habeat potestatem multiplicandi idem alimentum in numero in corpora istorum duorum in istis duobus locis continue quietorum; et posito quod istud alimentum pro B instanti assimiletur utrique; tunc patet quod pro B partes Petri et Pauli copu- 25 lantur ad eundem terminum communem; et sic vere copulantur cum partibus recitatis; et tamen non obstante quod sint sic immediati, sunt parvi homines tantum distantes moti a se invicem continue minorati. Et sic posset eadem parva persona infinitum cito pertransire 30 eandem distanciam, quantamcunque per viam multiplicationis quantumcunque tarde movendo; et perirent regule | de velocitate motuum quorumcunque: ut, posito A 69<sup>4</sup> quod idem punctus in numero multiplicetur per situm equinoccialem causando tempus, ut modo, tunc periret 35 veritas exprimenda de velocitate motus et temporis; ut diffuse dictum est alibi.

Quinto, videtur sequi, quod cultores signorum sic D. opinantes possent continere in pugillo, in liripipio et in

1. sit D. 3. materie prime panis B. 5. potuerunt CD. 26. aliud versus CD. 24. minori pro B B. 25. pro deest CD; ib. Pali AB. 26, 27. ad — capulantur deest B. 27. paribus ACD. 39. liripipio D.

8. S. Th. Aq. In lib. IV. Sent. Dist. XII, quaest. 1 art. 1, 2.



- parvo loco suo quantumcunque abscondite totum mundum manentem eque magnum ut est modo: quod videtur deo esse proprium, quod sit "mundum pugillo continens" extra mundum: et videtur blasphemum dicere
- B 78<sup>a</sup> quod os et membra sic opinancium | sint sic infinitum  
 Job. capacia. Nam de tali potest dici illud Job penultimo.  
 XLI, 4 "In medium oris eius quis intrabit?" Et illud Job,  
 XI, 18 "Absorbebit fluvium et non mirabitur; habet fiduciam quod influat Jordanis in os eius." Si enim quilibet reli-
- 10 giosus infinitum magnum sufficeret capere in os suum, quomodo non est immensum supra dyabolum? Et deducio patet ex isto, quod stat istum mundum per viam multiplicacionis contineri, in quantumcunque parvo corpore cum tota quantitate sua; et sequuntur dicte conclusiones, et infinitum magis mirabiles; et per viam coextensionis replicate stat mundum secundum se totum extendi per quantumcunque parvum locum.
- E. Sexto, deducitur quod est in potestate cuiuscunque presbiteri, facere rem abiectissimam deum suum; quia
- 20 conficiendo facit accidens deum suum; quia corpus Christi, quod est Christus, ut concedunt; ille autem panis est infinitum inperfectior in natura quam panis
- A 69<sup>b</sup> equinus vel ratonis; | quia precise est perfectus in natura sua, sicut quantitas aut qualitas huius panis;
- 25 infinitum inperfectior est quecunque quantitas aut qualitas ipso pane; igitur infinitum inperfectius est ipsum per se sacramentum ipso pane. Nam naturalis perfectio est perfectio simpliciter; et perfectio accidentalis quam habet ex significacione vel comitancia corporis Christi
- 30 est nulla vel modica; tum quia accidens illud non potest sic alterari; tum etiam, quia omnis creatura, etiam dyabolus, concomitatur et signat deitatem. Magna itaque blasfemia esset sine auctoritate vel ratione presumere
- B 78<sup>b</sup> quod quilibet sacerdos facit tam abiectam | rem corpus
- 35 domini; magnum itaque est, quod panis triticeus, infinitum perfectior predictis panibus, sit eucharistia. Et illum panem describit autor "*De divinis officiis*", qui superius nominatus est Ambrosius "esse terrenam substantiam, corpus sacrificii, collectum ex terre fructibus."

Again, by means of this multiplication of quantity, a man could hold the world in his fist. Which is blasphemy.

If a monk can take the Infinite into his mouth, is he not greater than the devil?

An accident is the meanest of things; so a priest makes the meanest of things his God.

For an accident has no natural perfection by itself.

It is blasphemy to pretend that so mean a thing can be Christ's body; and a great thing to say that bread can be.

The expression 'of the fruits of the earth', again quoted.

2. manente AB; *ib* materia B. 7. Job ultimo B. 21. ut concedunt deest A. 22. panis ut concedunt ACD; *ib*. perfectior D. 23. communis B. 24. huiusmodi BC. 24, 25. huiusmodi ipso pane igitur infinitum inperfectius est ipsum per se sacramentum D. 24-26. panis - qualitas deest C. 35. Christi B; quia B. 36. accidentibus B. 37. fulgencius in marg. A.

Sic, inquam, exponit doctor panem illum qui accipiendo benedictionem fit corpus Christi.

Another great difficulty: why ascribe to the Sacrament only one sort of quantity—dimensions—and not the other sorts: time, place, &c. All are in the unconsecrated Host. If God could conserve one species of quantity, why not the others? And if it be said that these other species are conserved, we may reply that the sacrament is nothing, being a collective mixture of diverse entities.

Septimo, angustiat pars adversa, dum videt, quod F. non est ratio, quare sacramentum altaris sit unum genus quantitatis, quin per idem et quodlibet; et potissime 5 tempus et locus; et sic de quacumque qualitate que prius fuit in pane non consecrato. Ideo est aggregatum ex illis omnibus, cum accidentibus respectivis ipsa consequentibus. Non enim licet blasphemare, quod deus potest servare unum illorum per se, quin per idem et quod- 10 libet. Nec est sompnianda ratio, quare differenter sic fecit de uno et non de quocunque, cum foret maius miraculum; quo | concessio ultra subtilizat, quod sacra- A 69<sup>e</sup> mentum altaris nichil est vel nichil valet. Nam cum sit res diversorum generum, videtur, si "populus" nichil est 15 evidencius hoc sacramentum nichil est; minor est famosa apud modernos, quos alloquor, iuxta hoc metricum:

Populus est aliquid; sed populus nichil est; quia aliter opporret concedere quod multi homines sunt unus homo. Et sic de aliis monstris. Vel aliter, 20 quod aliquid est, quod nec est substantia, nec accidens; et quod aliqua substantia est, que neque est corporea, neque incorporea; et sic de aliis divisionibus generum, que forent simpliciter incon | plete. B 78<sup>e</sup>

If the Sacrament is nothing, it is worth nothing either socially nor naturally.

Concesso igitur quod principale sacramentum nichil 25 est, evidens est quod nichil valet; quia nichil valet civiliter; nec valet aliquid in natura. Quia, esto quod precise valeat substantiam vel quantitatem, et patet quod oportet unum genus entis equiparare in valore vel bonitate naturali rei alterius generis: quod est in- 30 possibile.

A case put: A man may be born of parents who are to be damned on account of his birth, and yet can neither sin nor suffer! For if we posit the souls A and B of the parents, with the absolute accidents of their bodies, it will be so.

Octavo, proponitur hoc enigma: possibile est quod G. iste homo fuit temporaliter generatus univoce et non ab aliquo animali; licet parentes eius, conversantes cum eo in fide, ipsum instruxerint, qui licet a deo perpetue 35 dampnabuntur, non tamen possunt peccare vel puniri in corpore aut anima, sicut non possunt in altero horum pati. Posito quod ex duobus spiritibus qui possunt esse anime humane, et omnibus accidentibus absolutis corporeis, que sunt in Petro et Martha optime complexio- 40 natis constituentur duo supposita, subducta in eis omni

14. cum *deest* CD. 16. est *deest* CD. 19. alter B. 20. aliter *deest* B.  
27. aliud D. 28. prevaleat *pro* precise valeat CD. 29. parari B.  
33. univoce *deest* ACD. 39. anime *deest* ABC; in *marg.* D.



materiali substantia, et quod ista que sunt A et B pec-  
 A 69<sup>a</sup> cent | dampnabiliter procreando Paulum, compositum ex  
 corpore et anima; de quo Paulo verificant conclusio-  
 nem, Nam sicut A et B, mediantibus aliquibus suis ac-  
 5 cidentibus corporeis, possunt operari eque efficaciter et  
 satis univoce, ut patet de operibus nutritivis et sensiti-  
 vis; ita videtur de accidentibus generacionis. Et per  
 consequens, sicut A et B habent potestatem gignendi et  
 aliter operandi secundum quascunque qualitates quas  
 10 habent, sic possunt esse parentes et coniuges, hominem  
 procreantes. Et patet cum casu prima pars conclusionis;  
 et secunda pars probatur per hoc quod nec A nec B  
 B 78<sup>a</sup> est | substantia animata sensibilis, quia non corpus;  
 quia, pari evidencia qua foret substantia, foret tam  
 15 quantitas quam qualitas. Et patet tertia pars ex casu,  
 cum tam A quam B potest exercere omnes operationes  
 tam organicas quam non organicas. Et patet quomodo  
 tam virtus quam viciū potest inesse illis spiritibus:  
 et sic tam A quam B potest damnari perpetuo, cum  
 20 habet libertatem flexibilitatis arbitrii, sicut ponitur de  
 inesse. Ultima vero particula videtur per hoc quod  
 H. nec A nec B potest esse animatum sive corporeum;  
 quia tunc foret aliene nature omnino a natura cuius  
 est modo; ex quo sequitur, cum neutrum istorum potest  
 25 esse sine accidente, cum tunc foret purus spiritus ac-  
 cidentatus, quod totum accidens sit essenciale utrique  
 supposito; et per consequens, cum omne agens naturale  
 in agendo repetitur, videtur quod nec A nec B potest  
 agere vel pati accione corporea, et specialiter procreare.  
 30 Ymo, si capta una duricie uniformi et coextensa unica  
 A 70<sup>a</sup> mediate cum alia et sic | infinicies usque ad super-  
 ficialem duriciem qua linearetur ad extra undique, vi-  
 detur quod nulla armatura, ymo infinita acucies, non  
 posset huiusmodi penetrare. Quod si tota gravitas esset  
 35 ablata, tam ab A quam B, cum predicta armatura,  
 quam gloriosum suppositum foret et agile!

Nono, subtiliatur de ordine ministrorum ecclesie, quod  
 stat alicuius ordinis subdiaconum infinitum in potestate  
 spiritali excedere sacerdotem; ut posito quod deus det  
 40 cuilibet subdiacono potestatem transsubstanciandi panem  
 in mundum, et cuicunque sacerdoti potestatem ad maxi-

Absolute  
accidents can  
do all that the  
substance does;  
therefore A and  
B can beget a  
child; and that  
sinfully.

But they cannot  
sin, not being  
human entities,  
composed of  
body and  
soul.

And yet, as  
they can  
exercise all  
organic and  
spiritual  
activities, they  
can act  
virtuously or  
viciously, and  
therefore may  
be damned,  
having free will.  
But neither A  
nor B can  
suffer; these  
accidents being  
supposed  
essential, they  
can lose  
nothing of  
them; and  
therefore  
cannot suffer  
from external  
bodily action.  
Nor can they  
beget.

These accidents  
would defend  
them  
wonderfully  
from all attacks  
Ninth  
argument:  
A subdeacon's  
function might  
be higher  
than that of a  
priest,

1. naturali CD.  
unica C; una D.

9. quasdam B.  
37. ecclesie deest AB.

23. materia B.

30. sita pro

if a subdeacon  
could trans-  
substantiate  
bread into the  
world, and a  
priest, only  
into Christ's  
body.

If a priest and  
a subdeacon  
began together  
to change bread,  
one into the  
world and the  
other into  
Christ's body,  
this bread  
would become  
both *at once*;  
the world  
and Christ's  
body.

And thus the  
Paschal lamb  
might in the  
time of Moses  
have been  
Christ's body.

They admit  
that not only  
one quantity  
can be changed  
into another,  
but everything  
into everything  
else.  
Christ might  
have said  
"Everything is  
my body".

num | transsubstantiacndi panem in corpus Christi, ut B 79  
de facto ponitur. Et ex illo subtiliantur conclusiones 1.  
infinite; nec fas est, ut inquiunt, fideli negare blasfeme  
possibilitatem huiusmodi quo ad deum, cum iste qui  
potest dare potestatem sacerdoti cuilibet ad faciendum 5  
corpus domini de quocunque pane signabili, habet  
potestatem ad faciendum quamcunque partem mundi,  
licet prius fuerit de pane quolibet. Et sic, posito quod  
deus concedat Petro sacerdoti potestatem transsub-  
stantiacndi A panem in corpus suum et potestatem Paulo 10  
subdyacono transsubstantiacndi eundem panem pro eodem  
tempore in totum mundum sensibilem, et incipiant hii  
duo simul proferre verba sua sacramentalia que effica-  
citer consequantur ex dei omnipotencia fines suos, patet  
quod in fine ad omnem punctum accidentis, A est tam 15  
corpus Christi quam eciam totus mundus etc. Et cum  
accidens derelictum sortitur nomen sui subiecti et sui | A 70<sup>b</sup>  
signati in quod convertitur, ut patet supra "*De sacra-  
mento altaris*", quod dicitur panis et corpus Christi:  
videtur quod illud accidens remanens sit simul corpus 20  
Christi et totus mundus: et sequuntur intricaciones in-  
numerabiles per conversionem proposicionum et alias  
regulas logicas.

Et sic subtiliant quidam, quod panis pro eodem in-  
stanti simul potest converti in rem que incipiat per 25  
remocionem aut posicionem de presenti et rem que  
desinat dupliciter esse. Et sic concedunt panem esse  
corpus quod non est, cum agnus paschalis verbo dei  
dicente posset fieri in tempore Moysi corpus Christi.  
Concedunt eciam | quod possibile est, nedum quanti- B 79<sup>b</sup>  
tatem hostie converti in quantitatem corporis Christi  
et sic reciproce de quolibet accidente, sed corpus con-  
verti in spiritum, et quidlibet in quidlibet: ut, posito  
quod Christus diceret, "Quidlibet est corpus meum";  
non, inquiunt, est ratio quare Christus potuit et dixit 35  
quod panis sit corpus suum, quin per idem potuit  
dixisse de quolibet singulariter vel communiter ipsum  
esse corpus suum; quia aliter nimis blasfeme restrin-  
geretur Christi potencia. Et cum sit ille qui "dixit  
et facta sunt" nec mentiri poterit, sequitur a pari 40  
quod panis est corpus Christi et quidlibet foret ipsum;

1. ad transsubstantiacndum B. 16. eciam *deest* B; *ib.* etc. *deest* D.  
26 in rem BCD; in rem potenciam B.



et sequeretur magna confusio, ut argutum est in materia de ydemptitudine.

- K. Decimo, magnificatur potestas Gog et Magog, quod impossibile est suum presbiterum celebrare, nisi cor-  
 5 rumpendo mundum antiquum quem deus creavit, faciat novum mundum. Nec mirum, quia immutat leges nature  
 A 70<sup>e</sup> in sui contrarium. | Nam iste mundus secundum fideles philosophos dependet ut a partibus essencialibus a tota  
 10 essentia sue materie et toto genere spirituum perpetuo- rum. Sed ut fingitur, quandocunque Gog et Magog celebrat, tollit, destruit et corrumpit partem essencialem prime materie quam deus creaverat, et sic patet conclusio; alius enim foret mundus in casu quo deus destrueret omnem creatam substantiam, servando acci-  
 15 dens; et sic secundum alietatem totius essentialis materie que secundum philosophos est incorruptibilis,  
 B 70<sup>e</sup> oportet mundum | variari. Nam corruptibiles forme substantiales sunt essencie mundi accidentales. Unde Aristoteles, primo, *De celo*, quia posuit illam materia-  
 20 lem essenciam esse ingenerabilem et incorruptibilem, et mundum constare ex tota materia sua possibili, posuit istum mundum incorruptibilem, posse maiorem nec alium generari; non enim sufficit ad ydemptitatem numeralem istius mundi ydemptitas dei vel sue anime,  
 25 si ponatur; quia tunc frustra deus creasset celum et terram ad constitutionem mundi, et frustra dedisset illi materiali essencie incorruptibilitatem et exempcio- nem a quocunque contrario.
- Ymmo, ut patet alibi, corrupta secundum se totam  
 30 prima materiali essencia, vel oportet equivalens recreari, vel mundum minorari, vel vacuum derelinqui, quorum quodlibet foret nimia presumpcio sacerdoti; totus enim situs mundi repletur prima materiali essencia, et quanti-  
 1. tates eorum sibi mutuo correspondent. Et ex istis vi-  
 35 detur quod quot sunt hostie consecrate, tot sunt foramina  
 A 70<sup>d</sup> va | cua a substantia corporea: et sic mundus foret de tanto minor aut rarior. Nam corpus Christi non plus occupat locum illum quam deitas, nec ponentes vacuum

This exalts overmuch the power of Gog and Magog whose priests cannot celebrate Mass without destroying the world.

The world depends essentially on the whole of its matter.

Therefore, annihilating an essential part of the world, the celebration of Mass destroys it.

For primordial matter cannot be changed but by annihilation.

And therefore Aristotle asserted that the world is incorruptible. For the world's identity is not saved by that of God or of the soul.

It would have to be again created, or lessened, or a void would be left.

As many consecrated Hosts, so many vacua without substance.

2. ydemptificatione? B. 6. quoniam CD. 10. Gog et deest B.  
 15. socius C. 17. variare B. 22. vel BCD. 30. illis BCD; ib. reci-  
 tari C. 31. quolibet quod foret D.

22. Arist. *De Coelo*. I. 1, c. X et seq. (t. 2, p. 383 of Didot).  
 30. This is a strong point; for the whole School, following Aristotle, denied the possibility of an absolute vacuum.

For a vacuum does not exclude space and form which are here. And if you admit a vacuum here, you are obliged to admit its possibility elsewhere. By such heresies we go back to Chaos.

Such a void is contrary to Divine Wisdom.

The very laws of Nature are changed. All the quantity, all the qualities of Christ's body are in every minutest particle of the Host!

Also all Christ's human qualities.

Even contrary qualities can be present (they say) in different places.

Peter, ill in a cold country, may be well in a hot one.

negabunt quin sit repletum quantitate et figura. Nec evadent blasfemantes in dei potenciam, quin a probabili sit vacuum per totum mundum, et extra mundum vacuum infinitum. Non enim potest poni consecrata hostia, cum sit unum nichil vel accidens pars sub-<sup>5</sup> stancie vel corporis sublunaris. Et per tales hereses potest verificari illud | Gen. 1<sup>o</sup>: "Terra autem erat <sup>B 79<sup>d</sup></sup> inanis et vacua." Et idem Jerem. IV<sup>to</sup>: "Respexi terram <sup>Gen. I, 2</sup> et ecce vacua erat a nichilo." Quod est contra hor-<sup>Jer.</sup> IV, 23 tacionem apostoli Cor. VI<sup>o</sup>. "Ne in vacuum gratiam dei <sup>10</sup> recipiatis," deus enim dedit gratiam fidelibus noscendi <sup>II. Cor.</sup> repugnare divine sapientie, quod sit tale vacuum; ut <sup>VI, 1</sup> patet alibi. Cum autem "spiritus domini replevit orbem terrarum," ut dicitur Sap. I<sup>o</sup>, non imponamus sapientie divine tantam blasphemiam, quod aperiet mundum <sup>15</sup> per vacuitates huiusmodi sine causa. Leges autem nature mutantur cum, ut inquit, tota quantitas et qualitas corporis Christi est in qualibet particula hostie consecrate secundum sui naturam; et cum deus, qui dat illis esse spirituale tali miraculo multiplicatis, non <sup>20</sup> impedit eorum denominationem spiritualem, sed a probabili promovet: videtur probabile quod corpus Christi sit septipedale in infinitum modica parte hostie. Et sic de omnibus dotibus humanitatis Christi, quas omnes Magog absorbet ut olera, cum sint | gracie que poterunt per A 71<sup>a</sup> se esse, et dicit esse loca vacua per que vadit.

Quantum ad leges de contrariis dicit, quod eidem M. singulari simul tempore insunt denominationes contrarie per loca distancia; ymo stat quod eidem singulari insint pro eodem instanti et secundum eandem partem <sup>30</sup> quantumcunque contraria; ut, posito quod Petrus esuriens in regione frigida sit infirmus, in regione vero

5. nichil *deest* D. 6. sublimaris C. 10. 2 Cor. B. 15. apponet B. 16. per vanitates CD. 18, 19. consecrata D. 21. nec B. 23. sit *deest* AB. 25. insorbet ACD; *ib.* potuerunt CD. 29, 30. insit C. 32. non B.

23. *Septipedale*, an expression commonly used by Wyclif and scholastics of his time to denote 'a certain definite size'. 31. The whole of the argument that follows can be understood only by referring to the Scholastic belief in the possibility of bilocation; which, as we shall presently see, Wyclif denies. They argued: If everything is absolutely possible which does not involve self-contradiction, bilocation is possible. A negation of existence in the place where it exists would be absurd; but the positing of the same existence in two places at once is a very different thing.



contraria denominetur opposite; et cum hoc multipli-  
 cetur subito et secundum dei omnipotenciam, coexten-  
 B 80<sup>a</sup> datur cum se ipso secundum deno | minaciones con-  
 trarias; quem casum concedit a simili. Et sic variantur  
 5 leges commune et logice.

And if he was  
 in both at  
 once, these  
 qualities could  
 belong to him  
 likewise.

Contra secundam sententiam que negat possibilitatem  
 prioris sentencie videtur quod blasfeme derogat divine  
 potencie: Nam, posito quod deus multiplicet corpus  
 Petri existentis dimensionaliter in India per multa loca  
 10 secundum naturam suam in Anglia, tunc Petrus habet  
 verum esse et reale in Anglia independens a suo modo  
 extensivo essendi in Yndia; igitur deus de potencia sua  
 absoluta posset corrumpere et destruere omnem modum  
 essendi Petri in Yndia, servato modo essendi in Anglia.

Their  
 arguments in  
 favour of this.  
 The contrary  
 limits God's  
 power.

15 Quodcumque enim sunt duo modi inpertinentes vel  
 unus reliquo perfeccior, modus inperfeccior eciam se-  
 cundum speciem potest destrui, modo perfecciori ser-  
 vato; specialiter si non sint religiones, sed modi absoluti  
 tantum distantes; nam esse multiplicatum quo Petrus

Peter, v. g. can  
 be (by a  
 miracle) in  
 England and  
 India at the  
 same time; so  
 he could be  
 killed in India  
 while living in  
 England; i. e.  
 dead and alive  
 at the same  
 time, but in a  
 different place.

A 71<sup>b</sup> est in Anglia est perfeccius, et | modo essendi dei si-  
 milius quam modus essendi materialis quo extenditur  
 N. in Yndia. Item stat Petrum vulnerari vel percuti in  
 Yndia, cum hoc quod non sic paciatur in Anglia, et  
 per consequens deus de omnipotencia sua posset separare

25 animam Petri a corpore suo in Yndia, cum hoc quod  
 maneat sic copulata in Anglia. Et per consequens Petrus  
 posset ibi mori, occidi vel aliter transmutari in Yndia,  
 cum hoc quod maneat quietus in Anglia. Nam nimis  
 videretur artari divina potencia, quod ipse non posset

30 cum istis paribus rapere animam Petri de corpore suo  
 in Yndia, nisi raperet eandem de corpore suo in Anglia:  
 et sic de aliis denominationibus positivis. Non enim

B 80<sup>b</sup> ne | cessitatur, si cum istis paribus creat in corpore  
 Petri accidens quodcumque in India, quod perinde creet

Why should  
 God Almighty  
 be compelled,  
 because Peter  
 dies in India,  
 to make him  
 die in England  
 too?

35 illud idem accidens in corpore suo in Anglia. Et sic  
 staret eundem hominem esse simul vivum et mortuum.  
 Et sic de quibuscunque denominationibus contrariis  
 positivis. Cum igitur secunda sententia dat antecedens  
 ad hec omnia; videtur, quod sit falsa, cum deus qui

The same holds  
 of all contrary  
 qualities.

40 multiplicat Petrum secundum substantiam suam tam  
 differenter in Anglia posset extendere ipsum secundum

And if God can  
 do that, He  
 can extend  
 Christ's body  
 in like manner.

4. capitulum AB. 12. extensivo B. 15. modi *deest* AB. 18. ab<sup>u</sup> A;  
 obiecti B. 19. quo *omnes* MSS. 22. Petrus AB. 24. separari D.  
 25. quod *deest* BCD. 33. partibus B.

esse suum naturale, non obstante resistencia esse sui  
in Yndia, cum hoc foret facilius.

Besides, several  
bodies can  
exist at once in  
the same place;

Therefore a  
pari the same  
body can be at  
the same time  
in different  
places.

As with the  
multiplication  
of the loaves,  
&c. and other  
miracles  
recorded of the  
Saints.

Item, secundum adversarios, stat diversa corpore esse O.  
simul tempore per eundem locum; igitur per locum  
a sufficienti similitudine stat idem corpus esse simul 5  
tempore per diversa. Et istud confirmatur de multi-  
plicacione panum miraculosa, | de quibus in ewangelio A 71<sup>e</sup>  
Marc. VI et VIII, de multiplicacione femine ex costa viri,  
de qua Genes. III, et de miraculo narrato de beato Am-  
brosio et de aliis; et videtur omnino derogare potencie 10  
divine, quod ipse non posset manendo in celo humani-  
tus ostendere se ipsum in sacramento miraculose in  
forma pueri. Et ita videtur, quod nulla existencia cor-  
poris in Yndia potest impedire, ne deus posset cum hoc  
extendere et qualitercunque voluerit movere idem corpus 15  
quod habet in Anglia.

One of these  
two opinions is  
certainly  
heretical;  
each contradicts  
the other as to  
God's  
omnipotence.

No article of  
faith can be  
false; but  
whether one of  
these limits  
omnipotence,  
or omnipotence  
proves the  
truth of the  
other, Wyclif  
leaves in  
doubt.

Et certum est quod altera istarum viarum est omnino  
heretica, quia sunt summe contrarie in precipua materia  
fidei de dei omnipotencia; ideo certum est, quod que-  
cunque istarum fuerit falsa, est absolute impossibilis et 20  
per consequens implicat formaliter quemlibet | articulum B 80<sup>e</sup>  
fidei esse falsum: ut, posito quod sit catholicum et sic  
verum, quod deus non potest in talia, patet quod tunc  
deus non potest in talia; nisi quilibet articulus fidei  
sit verus, deum posse in talia, tunc possibile est deum 25  
posse in talia; et sic deus potest in talia. Ex alio  
latere, si sit catholicum quod deus potest in talia,  
tunc est absolute necessarium quod deus potest in talia;  
et per consequens negans hoc implicat oppositum cuius-  
libet articuli fidei Christiane. Magis autem videtur quod 30  
secunda sententia sit magis heretica.

6. tempora *pro* loca omnes MSS. 11. meando AB; mando CD.  
22. et deest BD; *ib.* sic deest CD; *ib.* esset *pro* verum D; esset *pro* sic B.



## CAPITULUM NONUM.

Discutiendo de multiplicacione corporis Christi in hostia, necesse est primo videre quomodo est ibidem; nec phas est fidelem ambigere quin corpus Christi sit

A 71<sup>d</sup> ad omnem punctum hostie, sicut | Christi humanitas, non solum virtualiter, sed sacramentaliter; quomodo autem sit ibidem, egregie declarat autor "De divinis officiis"; et concordant doctores moderni, dicentes concorditer quod communiter in scriptura in predicacione

10 secundum causam signum suscipit predicacionem sui signati; ut Genes. XVIII dicitur quod Abraham vidit tres

Gen. XVIII, viros, tres vidit et unum adoravit, ubi angeli nedum

2 vocantur viri, sed eorum triplicitas signat trinitatem; sicut enim illi vere erant viri et homines, sic Abraham

15 adoravit in eis trinitatem vel verbum dei, quem fide vidit hominem incarnatum iuxta illud Joh. VIII. "Abraham

Jo. VIII,56 pater vester exultavit ut videret diem meum, vidit et gavisus est." Iste autem est vir de quo dicitur Jer. XXXI quod "mulier circumdabit virum". Nam pro primo instanti incarnationis sue fuit auto | nomatice vir virens

B 80<sup>d</sup> virtutibus. Secundo adducitur illud Exod. XXXI, ubi vitulus

Ex. XXXII, conflatus expresse vocatur vitulus, et tamen non habuit

4 nisi similitudinem vituli, ubi eciam patet signum vere vocari nomine sui signati; nec dubium de isto; ideo

25 mysticus sensus est querendus.

Notatur enim ex ista historia, quod absente Moyse legifero ydolatratur populus faciendo contra mandatum domini apparenciam religionis vel elemosine. Sed dyabolus in penam prevaricationis prioris aptat apparenciam boni ad illam peccati voraginem, ad quam clerus

30

We may not doubt that Christ is present in every point of the Host; but how?

The sign, as doctors allow, is spoken of as the thing signified:

As Abraham adored one of the 3 angels, representing the Trinity;

As the molten image of a calf is called a calf.

Hint at a likeness between the golden calf and Church temporalities.

10. casum BCD. 18. est *deest* AB. 19. multipliciter *pro* mulier AB.  
27. preceptum A.

7. De Divinis Officiis (See t. 101, p. 1260 of Migne).

et | plebs est prouior ut ex dotacione ecclesie in Christi A 72<sup>a</sup>  
absencia. Ex hoc enim adulterantur dupliciter insolentes.

As the brazen  
serpent is called  
merely a  
serpent.

Tercio, adducitur textus Num. XXI, quod serpens eneus B.  
propter similitudinem dicitur simpliciter esse serpens; Num.  
et illud notat Salvator Joh. tercio. "Sicut Moyses," 5 XXI, 8, 9

inquit, "exaltavit serpentem in deserto, ita exaltari Jo.  
oportet filium hominis." Cum autem in istis et eis III, 14

Development of  
the mystic  
signification of  
that sign.

similibus apparet utrobique veritas scripture de virtute  
sermonis, restat evacuando sterilitatem videre sensum  
alium. Serpens autem carnalis signans calliditatem pru- 10  
dencie dicit dyabolum, quo genus humanum seducitur;  
et serpens eneus, ad quem intoxicati debemus aspicere,  
signat Christum venientem in similitudinem carnis pec-  
cati, ad cuius celestem prudenciam debemus attendere,  
et virtutes ac imitaciones eius, quantum sufficimus, 15  
intueri.

But does this  
prove that the  
angel, the calf  
or the serpent  
were absolute  
accidents?  
What is  
literally absurd  
must be taken  
figuratively.

Unde non presumo imponere doctoribus meis tam  
scandalosam stulticiam ut ipsi ex istis arguant accidens B 81<sup>a</sup>  
esse vel posse esse sine subiecto | cum scriptura utro-  
bique signat contrarium; sed istud concludunt, quod 20  
predicacio nominis signati de nomine signi debet ad-  
mitteri, quod fidelis debet concedere secundum signanciam  
et figuram, ubi renuet predicacionem secundum sub-  
stanciam vel naturam: ut patet in materia de eukaristia.

'But an  
accident, or  
an abstraction,  
is often called  
a subject: so  
the appearance  
of bread can be  
called bread'.

Sed arguitur per locum a sufficienti similitudine quod 25  
per idem accidens nominandum est nomine subiecti;  
ut accidentia panis et vini vocentur panis et vinum. C.  
Hic concedi debet conclusio, ut exemplificat scriptura,  
creberrime | dicens, et canit ecclesia:

"Jesu nostra redempcio,  
Amor et desiderium."

A 72<sup>b</sup>  
30

True; but it  
does not follow  
that an accident  
can be without  
its subject.

Sed absit fidelem concludere ex isto, quod accidens  
potest esse sine subiecto, quia vel dicit quod omnis sub-  
stancia est accidens et econtra, vel turpiter decipietur 35  
luciferina fallacia. Sed iuxta primum concederet quod  
nedum Christus noster est solum accidens, sed nullum  
potest esse subiectum nisi accidens, et sic idem foret dif-  
finire accidens esse sine subiecto et blaterare substan-  
ciam esse sine subiecto: quod foret verecunda stulticia.  
Si secundum accipit, tunc oportet discere soluciones fal- 40  
laciary, et specialiter fallaciam figure dictionis et

Every thing  
might then be  
an accident,  
and substance  
and accident  
would mean  
the same.

20. istud deest B. 33. diceret B.

30. Hymn at Compline, Vigil of the Ascension.



fallaciam accidentis. Nam accidens et figura decipiunt multos Magog, ut recitat Anselmus in "De gramatico." "Si," inquit sophiste, "*gramaticus* est accidens, et omnis *gramaticus* vivit, componitur ex corpore et anima et facit qualescunque operationes vitales; igitur res sic vivens et sic composita ac sic agens, est accidens." Mutatur autem suppositio a simplici in personalem, ut dicunt logici, cum in maiori *gramaticus* supponit simpliciter abstractivè, et in minori supponit personaliter B 81<sup>b</sup> concretivè. | Et sic equivocant negantes quod accidens et accidentium agregacio est panis sive substantia; et alii, concedentes in predicatione secundum subiectum vel causam predicationes huiusmodi.

Ego autem precise utor predicatione formali vel 15 essentiali, nisi limitet scripture auctoritas; et tunc detego equivocacionem predicationis secundum similitudinem | vel secundum subiectum aut secundum causam; ut nego quod motus est mobile, et sic de aliis generibus D. accidentis, et est michi pro regula quod quodocunque 20 scriptura utitur verbo substantie, vel intelligit ipsam substantiam vel perfectiorem substantiam; ut apostolus 1<sup>a</sup> Cor. X et XI quando loquitur de sacramento altaris N. sub nomine panis intelligit substantiam veri panis. Sed Joh. VI veritas sub nomine panis intelligit perfectiorem 25 substantiam, quia verbum domini figuratum; perfectius enim trahit ad suum sensum, relicto sensu minus perfecti. Sed postquam avaricia traxit graves corde ad diligendum vanitatem et querendum mendacium, intellexerunt ydolatre in sacramento altaris per "*panem*" 30 accidens panis quodcunque voluerint, et deserentes proprietates veri panis naturalis, omiserunt effectualiter intelligere panem celestem, scilicet corpus Christi et sanctam ecclesiam, quorum utrumque non est accidens, sed celestis substantia; unde si non fallor, nunquam 35 reperies in scriptura, quod nomine substantie principaliter intelligitur accidens, sed e contra. In figuris autem, ut quando vitulus et serpens signat substantiam inferioris nature, peccatum est in causa; et utrobique signatur idem in genere. Et nusquam in scriptura im- B 81<sup>a</sup> plicatur accidens esse sine subiecto. Sed sacramentum |

A fallacy: 'Grammarians' is an accidental quality; Does an accidental quality live, because the grammarian does?

You first suppose an abstraction, and then apply it to a person. So also for the Eucharist.

I should deny v. g. that movement is movable; for it is only an essence, not a subject.

Whenever Scripture speaks of a substance, it means either the substance itself, or something higher.

But now the word 'bread' is meant as the accidents of bread; and the higher meaning of Divine food is forgotten.

Scripture never literally means an accident by the name of a substance; only figuratively.

1. fallacie ACD. 11. vel *pro* et B; *ib.* est *pro* et C. 20. idolatre deest B. 39, 40. multiplicatur B.

2. Anselmus, De Grammatico, c. 1 (t. 158, p. 561. of Migne).

altaris dicit fides scripture esse in natura panem aut vinum et in figura corpus aut sanguinem Jesu Christi.

But the power of Gog is so great, that he publishes that Scripture is false, that lying is allowed, and that the sacramental bread is viler than what is vilest. So horrible a doctrine, condemned by Scripture, the Fathers, and reason, should be put down, even by fire.

Wyclif's doctrine: That the Sacrament is of a double nature, like the substance of Christ — earthly and divine;

he will not however say that it is identically Christ's body but figuratively and as a sign. Yet not falsely nor improperly, but as truly as Christ's words are true. So there are not two bodies, but one — Christ's, as the principal.

It is thus that he understands the author of 'De divinis officiis',

Unde Gog in diebus nostris ad tantum invaluit, quod primo publicat per eos de tecto le | gem scripture divine A 72<sup>4</sup> esse falsissimam; secundo dicit per alios, quod nedum 5 licitum, sed etiam meritorium est mentiri; et tercio dicit de sacramento altaris, quod sicut sacramentum panis est in natura infinitum imperfeccius quam panis ratonis, sic sacramentum calicis est in natura infinitum imperfeccius quam venenum. Et certum est, cum ista 10 conclusio sit tantum horrenda, vel scriptura vel sancti doctores vel fortis ratio urgeret hanc ponere. Modo E. autem militant hec tria ad directe contrarium. Ideo, ut dixi, quicumque pertinaciter ista defenderit est expresse hereticus; in tantum quod si ego ista defenderem, 15 vellem quod essem combustus tanquam hereticus, vel quod errorem illum prope revocarem; et sic debet esse de aliis, cum non sit personarum acceptio apud deum.

Supponatur igitur iuxta autorem de divinis officiis, quod sicut Christus est due substantie, scilicet terrena 20 et divina, sic hoc sacramentum est modo suo equivoco corpus panis sensibilis, qui de terra crevit, et corpus Christi quod verbum in Maria suscepit; et sicut verbum non amisit per incarnationem substantiam eternam, sed mansit illa natura noviter faciendo aliquid quod 25 prius non fuerat, sic quodammodo corpus panis, servando panis substantiam, est miraculose factum cum hoc corpus domini, non audeo dicere ydemptice secundum substantiam vel naturam, sed tropice secundum signanciam | vel figuram; non tamen false et inproprie B 81<sup>d</sup> dicitur corpus Christi, sed vere et proprie, sicut Christus vere et proprie dicit illum panem esse corpus suum. | Unde substantia sacramenti non debet dici duo A 73<sup>a</sup> corpora, sed unicum quod est principale et autonomatice corpus Christi. 35

Et sic intelligo autorem de divinis officiis, capitulo de offertorio misse; "prope", inquit, "est verbum fidei in corde tuo et in ore tuo, cuius verbi flumen si super panem et vinum effuderis, ordine quo ab ipso statutus est, statim de ipso dicto altari panem et vinum in corpus 40 et sanguinem suum transferendo suscipit eadem potencia virtute et gracia, qua nostram carnem de virgine Maria



- suscipere potuit, quomodo voluit, nec duo corpora dicuntur aut sunt, hoc quod de altari et illud quod receptum est de utero virginis, quia videmus unum idemque verbum, unus idemque deus sursum est in carne, hic in pane. Alioquin et ille panis quem heri sacrificavimus et iste quem hodie vel cras sacrificabimus, plura sunt corpora; nec rite dicimus offerri pro ecclesia corpus domini, sed melius diceremus corpora, quia quotidie pene tot offerimus panes, quot habentur in ecclesia sacerdotes: sed hoc prohibet causa, convincit ratio. Unitas enim verbi, unitatem efficit sacramenti: sic enim unum verbum et o<sup>lym</sup> carnem de Maria virgine sumpsit et nunc de altari salutarem hostiam accipit. Igitur unum corpus est, et quod de Maria genitum in cruce pependit et quod in sancto altari oblatum, quotidie nobis ipsam innovat passionem domini".
- <sup>B 82<sup>a</sup></sup> <sup>A 73<sup>b</sup></sup> <sup>F.</sup> Pro istis et similibus verbis sanctorum notandum, quod non est intencionis eorum negare multa esse corporea panis et vini consecrata, sed omnia illa in figura unum sunt, sicut secundum beatum Johannem sunt spiritus aqua et sanguis. Et ita intelligunt non multa esse corpora domini in sacrificio, nec ipsum sacrificium et corpus domini esse univoce multa corpora; sed omnia illa esse quodammodo idem corpus longe perfectius quam fuit oblatio legis veteris, cum Christus dicit de pane: "hoc est corpus meum"; et sic non dicit de agno paschali vel figura veteris testamenti.
- Ideo negant sancti quod hoc sacramentum est pure panis aut tipus vel antitipus, cum sit veraciter corpus Christi et habet substantiam corporis Christi ad quamlibet eius partem. Unde sicut errant heretici de Christo, alii quod est pure creatura, et alii quod est creator et non creatura, sic est duplex heresis de sacramento altaris; ut illi dicunt quod est panis et vinum qui prefuit sed in natura imperfectius quam panis furfuris vel venenum. Alii autem remissius heretici dicunt quod hoc sacramentum non est terrena substantia collecta de terre fructibus sed omnino ydemptice corpus Christi. Catholici autem dicunt, quod sicut Christus est duplex substantia, scilicet deitas et humanitas, et sic creator et creatura, sic sacramentum altaris in natura non est
- saying that 'one and the same God is above in the flesh, and here below in the bread';
- That 'it is the same body which was born of Mary . . . and is offered on the altar'. But these words of the Saints do not deny the plurality of the consecrated breads, which however are figuratively one.
- They only deny that, having the substance of Christ in all its parts, it is mere bread.
- A two-fold heresy: One saying that the bread remains, but in a most imperfect form.
- The other, that there is but the identical body of Christ. Catholics say it is an earthly substance, but that this

12. Sicut B.  
35. surfuris AB.

13. et — salutarem bis A.  
41. est deest BCD.

18. corporea ABD.

should be  
forgotten and  
our attention  
fixed on  
Christ's body  
that it  
represents.

abiectionem accidens, sed terrena substantia, cuius consideratio est sopita et in signatione, | figura vel modo A 73<sup>a</sup>  
quo apcius vocari potest, est sacramentaliter corpus Christi; ad quem sensum fidelis omnino debet attendere.

Et ista est | sententia synodi ecclesie sub Nicolao 2<sup>o</sup>, B 82<sup>b</sup>  
ut patet de consecratione distinctione 2, capitulo *Ego Berengarius*. Et ista est plane sententia autoris "*De divinis officiis*," ut patet superius. Et ne ecclesia tradat oblivioni istam sententiam, incorporatur in secreto secunde misse nativitatis domini sub hiis verbis: 10  
"Munera nostra quesumus domine nativitatis hodiernae apta proveniant, ut sicut homo genitus idem refulsit deus, sic nobis hec terrena substantia conferat quod divinum est". Unde notum est quod loquitur de terrena G.

The Church  
says:  
"As Christ,  
begotten a man,  
shone forth as  
God, so may  
this terrestrial  
substance give  
unto us what  
is divine."  
So the earthly  
substance is  
not destroyed  
but changed  
for the better.

substantia que est sacramentum, quod illa sit medium 15  
conferendi nobis divinam substantiam, cum panis fiet virtute verborum sacramentalium corpus Christi sicut homo Jesus refulsit deus. Tunc enim aptantur munera solemnitati ecclesie. Secundo patet, quod non est intencionis ecclesie dicere quod hec terrena substantia in 20  
consecratione destruat vel desinat, sed sicut dicit Augustinus recreetur in melius; et, ut dicit Ambrosius, ut fiat et fit veraciter corpus Christi, quia aliter non illa terrena substantia, sed unum abiectionem et ignotum

And Christ was  
man and God  
at the same  
time: so the  
comparison  
of the Church  
is perfect.

accidens conferret ecclesie hoc divinum. Nec valeret 25  
ordo verborum, nisi sicut eadem persona maneret simul homo et deus, sic idem sacramentum maneret in natura, licet equivoce terrena substantia et divina. Nam terrena substantia pertinencius expectat benedictionem quam accidens, ut patet supra per autorem *De divinis | officiis*. A 73<sup>a</sup>

That God's  
presence should  
destroy the  
bread's nature  
is absurd.

Ideo ridiculum foret quod hostia usque ad benedictionem remaneret substantia; et per benedictionem, quando fieret panis deifer, destruat mutata hostia in infinitum deterius. Et nota quod dicit "hec munera" H. que sunt | oblata, hostia consecranda in corpus Christi B 82<sup>a</sup>  
non frustra destruenda, esse terrenam substantiam, non benedicendum accidens ignoratum, ut creditur istis mille annis; accepta fuit ab universali ecclesia hec sententia beati Ambrosii. Ideo grave videtur quod secte hesterne destruerent tam pios usus, tam antiquos atque 40

That sects of  
yesterday  
should prevail  
over so pious,

6. capitulo deest B. 15. quod BC. 33. mutata deest BCD.

10. Sarum Missal, *ubi supra*. 22. Ambr. De Sacramentis, I. IV, c. L (t. 16, p. 440 of Migne).



- catholicos; ista enim fides antiqua mansit in ecclesia quousque per cultores signorum et antichristianam heresim est cecata. Unde, De consecratione distincione 2 capitulo. "*Hoc est*," dicitur sub auctoritate Augustini 5 sacrificium ecclesie duobus constare scilicet visibili elementorum specie et invisibili domini nostri Jesu Christi carne et sanguine sicut Christi persona constat ex deo et homine. In omnibus autem istis oportet cavere hereses de idemptificatione et inpanatione in 10 quibus laborant ydolatre, et ex alio latere cavere heresim stultissimam de accidentatione, quod accidens sit per se sacramentum et per consequens corpus Christi; et secure ire per medium istorum errorum notando equivocationes predicationum, in quibus non est contradiccio; 15 dicente Augustino super psalmo XCVIII et ponitur De consecratione distincione 2<sup>a</sup> capitulo. "*Non hoc corpus* A 74<sup>a</sup> *quod videtis*:" "Manducaturi estis et bibaturi | estis illum sanguinem quem effusuri sunt illi qui me crucifigent; ipsum quidem et non ipsum, ipsum invisibiliter, non 20 ipsum visibiliter". Credendum est itaque quod indigne celebrante et inrite Christum commemorante est corpus Christi virtualiter, et cum hoc in pane sacramentaliter dicente autore De divinis officiis, capitulo *De secreto* B 82<sup>a</sup> *misse*, | "quod vivo pro flumine verbi dei super panem 25 et vinum confluente tam veram divinitatem veramque humanitatem Christi in celo sedentis et regnantis excipimus, quam veram substantiam ignis a sole supposita cristalli sphaera exigua fere quotidie mutuare possumus. In talibus autem devotis exemplis oportet cavere de 30 heresi, ne ex totali similitudine concludatur quod corpus Christi sit dimensionaliter in hostia secundum naturam corporis glorificati, vel quod ipsum fit ex pane vel atteritur in natura sua, sed in signo solummodo; ut dicit decretum Nicolai 2<sup>o</sup>. Per ista patet de multiplicacione, quomodo corpus Christi nedum est virtualiter ad 35 omnem punctum hostie consecrate, sed est significative quelibet particula illius hostie; et sic vere multiplicatur per totam hostiam modo suo.

ancient and Catholic a belief is most grievous.

According to Augustine, the sacrifice consists of visible elements and the Invisible Lord.

But let us beware of the 'identification' and 'impanation' heresy, and of that stupid heresy of the accidents.

Christ's blood in the Sacrament is the same and not the same as on the Cross; the same invisibly, not the same visibly," as Augustine says.

And the author of De Divinis Officiis: "Christ's body is received in the Host, as the true substance of the sun's fire is got through a burning lens." But these pious instances must not bring us to fancy that Christ's body is present in its dimensions, &c. Only as in a sign, according to Pope Nicholas' decree.

2. quosque B. 13. negando BCD. 21. Christi pro est B. 22. sacra-  
vit B. 23. autore deest B. 28. mutare; mutuare in marg. A.  
30. tali corr. from totali A.

3. Decr. Grat. 2<sup>a</sup> Pars, Dist. II, c. 48. 16. Decr. Grat.  
3<sup>a</sup> Pars, Dist. II, c. 45. 21. Some words are probably wan-  
ting here in the MSS.

Et si queratur quid est corpus Christi formaliter in hostia, dicitur quod corpus Christi est realiter corpus Christi et ipsa hostia ac quelibet eius particula." Sed formaliter dicunt quidam, quod est corpus Christi et quicquid est per se primo; non tamen est dimensionaliter in hostia quia non in sua natura, licet sit illud quod est dimensionaliter in hostia. Alii autem dicunt quod corpus Christi non est formaliter quicquam in hostia, | sicut homo A 74<sup>b</sup> est eternaliter in deo et tamen non est formaliter aliquid sic in deo. Et sicut corpus Christi non est essentialiter in hostia, sic non est aliquid essentialiter ibidem. Et in ista equivocacione laborant multi. Et ista secunda via est michi plus consona. Et si queratur, quantum est corpus Christi, ibidem dicitur, quod tantum quanta est hostia vel quelibet eius particula, cum sit illa. Et 15 tota quantitas corporis Christi in celo | non est in B 83<sup>a</sup> sacramento, sed qualitas activa potest dici esse ibidem virtualiter, non dimensionaliter, secundum naturam propriam, cum impossibile sit accidens esse alicubi, nisi secundum suum subiectum ibi principaliter existens. Et 20 K. si obiciatur quod humanitas Christi nedum est virtualiter in sacramento sed ad omnem punctum regni Christi, quid igitur est ibidem? dici potest, quod virtus regitiva mundi; et sic, cum sit dei virtus et dei sapientia, est realiter ipse deus. 25

Utrum autem deus sit omnia in omnibus ut dicit apostolus, et sic multiplicatissimus, videtur michi prudentia concedere scripturam ut fidem et non plus sapere quam oportet. Posset tamen probabiliter dici quod post diem iudicii deus erit omnia in omnibus, cum omnia 30 signabunt eum esse summam sapientiam et summam virtutem. Nunc autem quamvis hoc idem signant, cum quadam tamen respersione rebellionis deo contrarie hoc faciunt; sed pro tunc detrudentur in infernum quecumque sunt tunc contraria Christo, passura penam 35 iustissimam. Nec tunc ebullient in iniusticias, sicut modo. Ideo, secundum famosam predicacionem que capitur a signo, concedi potest quod tunc | omnes sub- A 74<sup>e</sup> stantie erunt deus; accidencia autem et specialiter quantitates non memini deum assumere; sed concesso 40 secundum predicacionem signacionis, quod deus erit

Two opinions: one, that it is formally the body of Christ, and yet not in its dimensions; the other, that Christ is neither formally nor essentially anything in the Host.

Wyclif prefers the second.

How great is the Body? As great as the Host.

Objection: If Christ be only present virtually, He is just as well present throughout all His Kingdom. So He is really present, as God's Power and Wisdom.

Is Christ all in all things? Let us believe the Bible and go no farther.

But after the Judgment day we may say that then all things will be God, figuratively. And accidents then? If God assumes them,

2. Christi *deest* B. 6, 7. quia — hostia *deest* A. 14. quantum B.  
 27. multiplicatissima A. 33. responsione D; *ib.* rebellione ABD.  
 35. passam D. 41. significacionis B.



huiusmodi qualitates, manifeste patet quod iste non sunt accidentia sine subiecto, cum sint naturaliter in substantiis et secundum signanciam deus ipse. Nec fundatur alicubi quod ista que sunt in natura accidentia  
 5 sint substantie non inherencia, cum naturalis passio accidentis sit substantie inherere.

they will certainly not be absolute; besides, their substances will still continue to exist.

Alia enim ponitur ratio philosophorum univoca licet  
 B 83<sup>a</sup> ana | loga cuiuslibet essencie create, et multo magis alia est ratio accidentis: que non est fingenda, ut patet  
 10 in respectibus, nisi formaliter inherere. Et patet quante difficultatur ecclesia secundum scolam dyaboli de multiplicatione corporis Christi, cum fundamentum illius scole sit fictum mendacium ab utilibus occupationibus retractum. Nec valent evidencie quibus arguitur hoc  
 15 subiacerere potestati divine. Sicut enim deus non potest facere eandem rem in numero esse simul per diversa instancia, sic non potest facere eandem essenciam materialem esse simul per diversa loca, nec diversas substantias materiales esse simul tempore per eundem  
 20 locum adequatum; cum corpora secundum dotem subtilitatis se ipsa penetrant, et non sunt proprie coextensa; deus enim non potest in contradiccione. Et quante distincio instancium individuatur a distincione motuum, tante individuatur distincio situum a distensione es-  
 25 senciariū materialium.

Every being has its own essence and that of the accident is 'the belonging to a subject'.

And even God's power cannot make it not to belong to a subject.

For God cannot do what involves contradiction.

Et patet solucio ad primum argumentum factum in  
 A 74<sup>a</sup> fine proximi contra opinionem | secundam, pro prima  
 1. ficticia. Et per hec patet responsio ad secundum argu-  
 mentum. Non enim admittitur, quod eadem materialis  
 30 essencia sit simul secundum naturam suam per diversa loca; et sic Petrus non posset mori vel mutari in Anglia, cum hoc quod simul mutetur contrariis vel quomodocunque in Yndia. Nec oportet subtiliare, quas denominationes esset possibile eandem materialem essen-  
 35 ciam habere simul per diversa loca, quia deficit possibilitas fundamenti. Et per hec patet responsio ad tercium, negando possibilitatem diversarum materialium simul  
 B 83<sup>e</sup> per eadem | loca, quia tunc variaretur situs ad variationem materie; et forent multi situs coextensi.

This answers both the first and the second argument at the end of the former chapter, in favour of the first opinion. The same thing cannot be at once in several places. Therefore: Peter could not die in India, without dying in England.

40 Et quantum ad miracula, dictum est alibi diffuse, secundum sentenciam Augustini, quod in miraculis  
 As for the miracles alleged, we may say with

3. significativa] B. 7. Aliqua AD. 8. cuilibet B. 9. aliqua CD; corr. from alia A. 22. in deest B. 23. distensione omnes MSS.; distincione in marg. A. 24. statuum B. 35. simul deest B.

Augustine that  
new matter was  
invisibly  
supplied; as in  
the case of  
the loaves.

So too of  
Adam's rib;  
matter was not  
multiplied, but  
supplied.

As for Ambrose  
being at present  
at St. Martin's  
funeral, and  
elsewhere at  
the same time,  
it is incredible.

But God may  
give a second  
similar body to  
a man: which  
is quite a  
different  
question.

On the whole,  
taking each of  
these two first  
explanations,  
neither is far  
from heresy.

*First objection:*  
The soul can  
be in many  
places at once,  
in each God  
can give it a  
body; thus, one  
man would be  
in many places.

*Answer.* This  
cannot be: God  
could not put  
a thousand  
bodies into one  
square foot.  
And besides, it  
is not likely  
that any spirit  
could be thus  
in two separate  
places.

Christi subito vel insensibiliter ministrabantur aliene  
materie que cum aliis comixte sunt; et faciunt tam  
numerosam multitudinem, sine hoc quod eadem mate-  
rialis essencia pro eodem instanti occupet tales situs.  
Et sic, sicut quinque panes fuerunt quasi fermentum 5  
toti pani ex quo saciata sunt tot milia hominum, sic  
est de costa viri, quo ad fabricam mulieris. Aliquid  
enim fit parcialiter ex alio, ut in exemplis propositis,  
et aliquid fit totaliter ex alio, quando est rei facte  
adequata materia. Unde quia materia de qua fit mencio, 10  
fuit secundum hystoriam notoria et principalis in opere;  
ideo dicitur, quod tale compositum fit ab illo. Et quantum  
ad beatum Ambrosium, patet quod nulla experientia  
potest convincere, quod eadem persona secundum  
ultimum singulare | sue materie, fuit simul in exequiis A 75<sup>4</sup>  
beati Martini et distanter alibi; deus tamen posset  
aptare eidem anime corpora quantumcunque similia et  
sic facere eundem hominem esse simul secundum diversa  
corpora in diversis locis. Nec circa hoc versatur ista  
difficultas. Et eodemmodo posset dici quod puer cruen- 20  
tatus posset apparere in sacramento altaris, qui sit  
Christus secundum animam, licet corpus eius in celo  
resideat; vel vere credatur ut absolute necessarium,  
quod non est possibile idem corpus in numero multi-  
plicari simul per diversa loca distancia: et sic, discussa 25  
veritate utriusque istarum viarum, neutra | multum distat B 83<sup>4</sup>  
a via heretica.

Sed replicatur contra dicta de multiplicacione per M.  
hoc, quod anima potest esse simul per diversa loca,  
et ubicunque ipsa fuerit, deus potest aptare sibi idem 30  
corpus in numero; igitur stat idem singulare multipli-  
cari simul per loca distancia. Et illud confirmatur per  
hoc quod, si anima multiplicetur et ipsa est homo, tunc  
homo multiplicatur. Hic dicitur, quod tota difficultas  
est de multiplicacione nature corporee, quod ipsa sit 35  
simul per diversa loca secundum suam substanciam:  
quod negatur. Sed quantum ad materiam argumenti,  
dicitur quod deus non potest ubicunque fuerit anima  
aptare sibi corpus distinctum adequatum, quia tunc  
foret in quantumcunque modico situ globus corporum 40  
infinitus; et videtur probabiliter, quod spiritus creatus  
non posset per situs intercisos, sed quantumcunque



- distanter posset situari, cum hoc quod determinet sibi  
 situm per subtiliacionem situs, per quem multiplicatur;  
 ut, licet potest esse in utroque polo simul, huic tamen  
 repugnat, quod non sit in medio intercepto, et situs  
 5 tam longus posset gracilitari ad distanciam liniarem;  
 et ita non videtur possibile isti vie, quod idem spiritus  
 secundum idem corpus in numero sit per loca distancia;  
 idem autem spiritus posset esse simul per loca distancia  
 secundum corpora similia. Utrum autem idem spiritus  
 10 posset esse simul interdiscere per loca est problema  
 neutrum multis, cum spiritus in natura sua non occupat  
 locum, et ex celeritate motus corporis alterati ab in-  
 sensibili ad sensibilem, a loco abscondito ad patentem,  
 fit crebro sensus deceptio.
- B 84<sup>a</sup> Secundo replicatur contra dicta de multiplicacione,  
 N. per hoc quod multi et magni doctores tenent contrarium  
 istis dictis, nec efficaciter improbantur. Igitur pro  
 magnificanda omnipotencia dei defendi debent ne in-  
 cidantur in heresim. Hic dicitur quod maior est vera,  
 20 sed conclusioni inpertinens, cum iidem multi et magni  
 doctores sunt sibi ipsis contrarii; ideo fundare super  
 ipsos quamcunque sententiam foret nimis instabile  
 fundamentum. Nam solum scriptura sacra, que includit  
 in se omnem rationem, est fundamentum cui fidelis  
 25 debet attendere. Unde videtur michi religiosum, quod  
 Christianus stet in fide, et discussione huius triplicis  
 veritatis: in veritate in scriptura sacra exemplificata, in  
 veritate ab infallibili ratione elaborata, et in veritate  
 A 75<sup>a</sup> assensu cognita. Omnia autem alia, licet vera, sunt  
 30 tanquam apocrypha respuenda; ut unus pro uno tempore  
 sentit et nescit veritatem cuius noticia est alteri in-  
 pertinentis tunc et semper; et sic excuteret fidelis rumorum  
 audiciones et prophanas cronicas; quod videtur hodie  
 eo necessarius, quo pater mendacii sollicitus est cum  
 35 Gog et Magog per mendacia perturbans ecclesiam. Et  
 quantum ad materias scolastice practicandas, videtur  
 michi quod standum est in declaratione fidei scripture  
 cum sua logica. Et isti regule innitebantur doctores de  
 millenario Christi; ideo sunt ut plurimum concordati.
- O. 40 Sed fantastici, querentes vanum nomen subtilitatis sue,

This, however,  
 is a problem  
 hard to solve,  
 and apt to  
 beget delusions.

*Second  
 objection:*  
 The contrary  
 opinion would  
 not be  
 sustained by so  
 many and great  
 doctors, were  
 it heresy.  
*Answer.* These  
 very doctors  
 contradict each  
 other.

We cannot  
 found any  
 opinion upon  
 them; only on  
 Holy Writ.  
 Three sorts of  
 truth: truths  
 of revelation,  
 truths of  
 deduction, and  
 truths of  
 intuition.  
 All other  
 authorities are  
 to be rejected,  
 even when  
 right.

The logic of  
 Holy Writ is  
 the best  
 scholastic  
 method of all,  
 and ought to be  
 followed.  
 Vain men,  
 seeking renown,  
 forget this rule,  
 and go astray.

1. determinet C. 3. posset BCD. 4. interceptio B. 7. idem post  
 secundum deest B. 8. idem — distancia deest BCD. 9. Utrumque D.  
 13. ad sensibile C. 18, 19. incidatur BCD. 21. supremis B. 28. in-  
 effabili B. 31. nescit BCD. 32. fides B. 38. innitebantur D.

fuerunt pro millenario mendacii multipliciter evagati. Et hec ratio quare in scriptis eorum tot repugnantie sunt reperte, et specialiter in veritatibus de possibili.

Any proposition ought to be rejected 1<sup>st</sup> if it is manifestly impossible, or 2<sup>nd</sup> if it does not belong to the three classes of truth just mentioned.

Ideo videtur michi | religiosum concedere predictam B 84<sup>b</sup> triplicem veritatem de possibili, et aliam quamcunque 5 renuere. Unde, quando proponitur talis propositio de possibili, videtur michi quod potest abici propter duo: primo, quia est manifeste impossibilis; sicut sunt multe moderne propositiones de multiplicacione eucaristie, et alie novelle propter curiositatem fantasticam intro- 10 ducte; secundo, quia non patet eius possibilitas ex predicta triplici veritate; et sic nego multas propositiones de possibili; non quia scio eas efficaciter improbare, sed quia non sunt de numero predicte triplicis veritatis; | et sic sophistis sum dissonus, scole evaganti A 75<sup>d</sup> contrarius, et propter religionem Christi fatuus reputatus.

The answer to the foregoing difficulty is therefore to deny that the soul can be multiplied in two separate places at once. Still it might absolutely be granted, though a useless question; but the multiplication of matter is absurd.

Et patet exoneratio difficultatis predicte, cum nec admittitur animam multiplicari per loca disparia intercise, nec cum informacione corporis extra ipsum informiter per situs sibi continuos evagari: probato tamen quod 20 tale sit possibile, volo ipsum admittere, si non assit michi occupacio utilior; tamen iste cui foret occupacio laudabilis posset dicere quod eadem substantia spiritualis posset simul continue vel intercise, communi cum actuacione corporis vel sine, multiplicari per loca 25 quantumcunque distancia et simul gaudere vel tristari de eodem secundum diversas potencias, vel disparem rationem; sed destrui non potest, cum sit naturaliter immortalis. Multiplicacio autem nature corporee propter manifestam contradiccionem est neganda ad sensum 30 expositum.

The rule laid down, if carried out, would enable theologians to devote their time to more useful matters. The doctrine that spirits could be in two places at once, though erroneous, is less so than the other.

Sed videtur quod scole predicte regule debemus inniti, cum tunc studium et occupacio theologica forent utiliter breviata, et tota | lex imperialis et antichristiana B 84<sup>e</sup> cum privatis regulis ordinum, suspensa a consideracione 35 fidelium, et multo evidencius ymaginaciones fantastice errabunde. Unde videtur michi quod foret minus hereticum admittere situm corporeum per multiplicacionem substantie spiritualis, subducta omni materia, quam ponere situm corporeum fundatum in situacione huius- 40 modi accidentis, subducta omni materiali substantia: | A 76<sup>a</sup>

20. continue BCD; corr. A; ib. probacio B.  
ib. cum deest BC. 35. a deest CD.

24. commune A;



sed utrumque credo omnipotentie dei repugnare. Ideo scola antichristi creditur lapsa in heresim per multa blasfema mendacia de dei omnipotentia.

P. Tercio replicatur per hoc quod Christus et per consequens corpus suum potest esse quelibet creatura; et per consequens est summe multiplicabile. Nec tollitur instancia per hoc quod non quilibet est ydemptice sed solum tropice corpus Christi; quia, si Petrus est Paulus, est evidencius idem Paulo, cum triplex sit ydemptitas, scilicet generalis, specialis et numeralis. Ideo videtur sequi, si quidlibet sit corpus Christi, tunc est idem suo corpori, non econtra; et stant rationes alibi facte de ydemptificatione. Sicut enim Christus potuit de pane dixisse: „Hoc est corpus meum”; ita de quolibet alio assignando; et per consequens potuit ydemptificare quidlibet sibi ipsi; et currunt argumenta multiplicia.

Hic dicitur quod laboratur in equivocis, cum multi errando credunt quod panis tantum ydemptificatur corpori Christi, quod nec sit inter illa realis distincio, nec distincio rationis; et per hoc intelligo ydemptificationem numeralem, quam dico non posse fieri. In predicationem autem signativam vel tropicam, non negabit qui sacram scripturam admittit. Ideo concedo ad sensum equivocum predicandi predicationem huiusmodi figurativam, stante diversitate naturarum cum signis simplicibus; et nego predicationem huiusmodi cum signis specificatis per istum terminum in numero vel sibi equivalens; ut concedo cum Augustino quod septem spice sunt septem anni, quod Baptista est Helias, quod petra erat Christus; et tamen nego quod subiecta ista sint idem in numero predicatis, cuiusmodi loquendi fundamentum est scripture sacre auctoritas. Verumtamen notandum quod in predicatione ista secundum significationem vel figuram sunt gradus multiplices. Primus gradus et supremus est quando figura presupponit in

*Third objection:*  
Anything might be the body of Christ as well as bread; therefore his body is multipliable. For in every theory the word *is* implies a certain amount of identity between subject and predicate.

*Answer:* This is an equivocation. Numeral identity implies that between the subject and the predicate there shall be neither real nor logical distinction: which is denied. The subject *is* identical with the predicate, but not in number.

For instance, John Baptist *is* Elias; i. e. identical in so far as one is the figure of the other. But no further.

2. videtur B. 11. est *deest* B. 16. multiplicia C. 18. panis *deest* B. 23. concedit AB. 30. quod *deest* BCD. 30—33. subiecta — quod in marg. A.

6. This is to a great extent an argument *ad hominem*. We must remember Wyclif's position as a Realist, admitting that universals exist *a parte rei*, in the same way as they do in our minds. When we say, *A dog is an animal*; and, *A cat is an animal*, *animality* is absolutely the same in *dog* as in *cat*. It would follow that the dog and the cat are identical *a parte rei*. Wyclif escapes by a distinction.

Three degrees  
of figurative  
identity;  
1<sup>st</sup> when the  
figure requires  
the miraculous  
coexistence of  
the thing  
figured;

2<sup>nd</sup> when one  
thing becomes  
the type of  
another by the  
institution of  
the Holy Ghost;

3<sup>rd</sup> When  
anything is  
naturally the  
sign of another:  
as smoke is the  
sign of fire, or  
an accident of  
its subject.

A confusion  
between these  
identities and  
absolute  
identity has  
led great minds  
astray.

Granting that  
Christ can be  
all in all, we  
grant the  
multiplication  
of his body,  
not in substance  
nor in place,  
but in figure.  
Thus the  
confusion of  
numeral  
identity is not  
to be feared.

tempore figuratum, et requirit virtuosam et miraculosam  
eius existenciam ad quemlibet eius punctum; et secundo,  
ut figuratum quod mentiri non poterit asserat figuram  
eiusmodi esse figuratum; et isto modo panis et vinum  
verbo Christi consecrata fiunt et sunt corpus Christi 5  
et sangwis. Et facere tam magnum miraculum est Hebr.  
Christo proprium, quem apostolus dicit ad Hebr. primo I, 3  
esse figuram substantie dei patris: nec hoc est sibi Ps.  
difficile, cum sit ille qui *dixit et facta sunt omnia*; XXXII, 9  
secundus gradus et medius est, quando spiritus sanctus 10  
instituit unam rem distantem in tempore aliam figurare;  
et ille gradus non requirit preexistenciam et virtuaalem  
coexistenciam figurati cum sua figura, sed econtra; et  
isto modo oblationes et sacrificia legis veteris figurarunt  
res de lege | nova, dicente apostolo II ad Cor. de B 85<sup>a</sup>  
patribus legis veteris quod omnia in figura contingebant I. Cor.  
illis. Et talis figura vocatur proprie tipus; et frequenter X, 11  
predicantur de se | invicem in scriptura, et quandoque A 76<sup>e</sup>  
removentur a se invicem secundum predicationes equi-  
vocas in figura et in natura, ut sepe dictum est. Sed 20  
tercius gradus et infimus est, quando ex ordinatione  
nature create effectus figurat naturaliter suam causam.  
Et isto modo fumus signat ignem, et quodlibet accidens  
sensibile suum subiectum, et sepe nomina eorum de se  
invicem predicantur. Et sic oportet notare pro scriptura 25  
intelligenda predicationem figuralem, predicationem  
essencialem, predicationem substantialem, cum suis  
subdivisionibus et signis limitantibus. Et noticia equi-  
vocacionis dissolvit apparencias contradiccionis. Et forte  
in ista equivocacione de gradibus predicationis figuralis 30  
laborarunt Berengarius, Lanfrancus, Wymundus; et alii,  
ymo multi et magni, usque hodie sunt cecati.  
Istis premissis, admitto ut supra quod deus sit omnia R.  
in omnibus et sic quod equivoce multiplicetur, non  
secundum substantiam et situm, sed secundum signum; 35  
cum sit equivoce multorum singulum, et tamen omnia  
illa differunt essentialiter a se invicem et a deo. Ideo  
non contingit ex istis confusio, sicut sequitur ex ydempti-  
ficacione, ut patet alibi; sic etiam corpus Christi et  
tota eius humanitas multiplicatur secundum suos limites 40  
aliter in eukaristia et aliter per loca, ubi sua species

1. tempus BCD. 13. coexistenciam vel existenciam figurati B.  
15. II omnes MSS. 16. contingebantur B. 18, 19. in — invicem *deest* BCD.  
25. principiantur B; *ib.* figura *pro* scriptura B. 38. confuso AB.



- vel virtus diffunditur. Nec oportet, si quelibet particula  
 hostie sit corpus Christi, quod propterea quelibet earum  
 A 76<sup>a</sup> sit quelibet, | aut non aliter sit in sacramento quam  
 B 85<sup>a</sup> ut est virtualiter ubilibet, vel in celo. | Natura enim  
 5 panis sacramentalis remanet, et sic numerabiliter distin-  
 guuntur multe hostie consecrate, licet omnes ille sint  
 corpus Christi, sicut multa supposita sunt sua species  
 et tamen numeraliter distinguuntur. Et conformiter de  
 accidentibus et subiectis: ut subiectum est multa acci-  
 10 dencia distincta in genere, et econtra, licet non sit  
 aliquod istorum idem tice, sive formaliter, sed solum  
 signative. Et istud vellem eos attendere, qui ponunt  
 accidentia esse sine subiecto; accidens enim non est  
 essentialiter subiectum, sed subiectaliter vel subiective  
 15 significative; ideo oportet exprimere predicationem  
 equivocam et in sensu univoco convenire. Nec audeo  
 dicere quod corpus Christi sit, vel multiplicetur, secun-  
 dum suam substanciam vel naturam in hostia conse-  
 crata, quia secundum autorem "De divinis officiis" in  
 20 sacramento altaris est vita spiritualis non animalis, quia  
 aliter posset ex se progredi, sicut homo. Et tolluntur  
 instantie quibus alii de scola contraria laqueantur.
- S. Et patet quomodo fideles qui videntur contrarii in  
 materia ista equivocant, ut hii concedunt quod corpus  
 25 Christi videtur oculo corporali, atteritur et quantum-  
 cunque varie transmutatur; quorum sensus sanus non  
 fingitur, nisi quia panis sanctificatus sic variatur qui  
 est equivoce corpus Christi. Illi autem negant quod  
 corpus Christi oculariter videtur in hostia, vel aliter  
 A 77<sup>a</sup> transmutatur: quod potest dupliciter sane intelligi; vel |  
 quia corpus Christi in natura sua non sic movetur, vel  
 quia sacramentum non sub ratione qua est corpus  
 Christi sic se habet. Alii autem ad tantum desipiunt  
 B 85<sup>e</sup> quod ignorantes equivocaciones et sensuum | distinc-  
 35 ciones dealbantur veneno heretico; quia secundum  
 Averoy, assuefacti impossibilibus tanquam assuefacti  
 veneno letifero, ipsa accipiunt ex consuetudine tanquam  
 vera. Et sic pater mendacii per ignoranciam equi-  
 vocacionis decipit scolam suam et facit simplices ab-  
 40 horrere, quod ille panis non sit corpus Christi, nisi  
 secundum figuranciam et figuram; quia per idem ut

Each Host is  
 Christ's body;  
 yet it is distinct  
 from every  
 other, on account  
 of the nature of  
 bread that  
 remains: as  
 individuals,  
 belonging to the  
 same class, are  
 yet numerically  
 distinct.

This principle  
 applied to the  
 doctrine of  
 absolute  
 accidents: an  
 accident is but  
 the sign of the  
 subject, not the  
 subject itself.  
 Christ's life in  
 the Sacrament  
 is spiritual, not  
 animal; so we  
 may not say  
 that the nature  
 or substance is  
 multiplied.

Some say that  
 we see Christ's  
 body with the  
 bodily eye; this  
 is an  
 equivocation;  
 they mean the  
 sanctified bread.  
 Yet they deny  
 that we see  
 Christ  
 corporally:  
 which may be  
 true; but their  
 distinctions are  
 heretical.

4. est pro enim D. 15. significacione B. 27. ergo pro quia B.  
 34. sensum B. 34, 35. non distinciones BCD; ib. after distinciones h A.  
 35. debeantur omnes MSS.

suggestit quidlibet quod ipsum corpus significat, foret  
 eque veraciter corpus Christi. Modus autem quo ille  
 panis est corpus Christi, licet sit figurativus et non  
 ydempticus est inexplicabilis a nobis viantibus, licet  
 in confuso sciamus, quod non sit naturaliter corpus  
 Christi; et verba doctorum multos infatuant, qui di-  
 cunt quod post consecracionem non est panis eo quod  
 non est tunc principalissime corpus panis; et propor-  
 tionabilis equivocacio fit inter apostatas.

How this bread  
 is the body of  
 Christ, though  
 in figure and  
 not by identity,  
 is quite  
 inexplicable to  
 us: but to say  
 that the bread  
 does not remain  
 is apostasy.

5. non inconfuse B.



## CAPITULUM DECIMUM.

Tractando de quidditate sacramenti altaris, oportet primo supponere predictam sententiam *de divinis officiis*, capitulo de quidditate sacramenti altaris quod est in natura substantia et corpus panis et vini et in significatione et figura est corpus Christi et sanguis; quam sententiam est impossibile impugnare. Secundo recitabitur per viam opinionis sententia communis de quidditate accidentis. Et tercio procedetur profundius rimando sententiam de quidditate huius sacramenti, in qua discordant doctores.

Supposito autem primo, quantum ad secundum pro noticia accidentis, notandum secundum Avicennam quod ens prima impressione imprimitur; sive igitur sciendo sive cogitando rem esse, cognoscitur prima essentia et sic deus; et cum unumquodque sicut se habet ad esse sic ad cognosci in illo analogo, cognoscitur prius essentia substantie quam essentia accidentis. Ad generalem itaque noticiam post istam analogam, expergefacit sensibilis noticia accidentis, iuxta illud Aristotelis, primo posteriorum in principio: "Omnis noticia intellectiva, (*supple* quidditativa) oritur ex preexistente noticia sensitiva". Nam sensus communis cognoscit primo ens analogum ex mocione sensibilis, et prius cognoscitur subiectum ut tale quam accidens tanquam tale. Et hinc Porphyrius ponit subiectum in descriptione accidentis: omne tamen ens sub uno involucro primo sub esse concipitur.

Videndo igitur essentiam sacramenti ut est alba vel aliter accidentata, videtur albedo, rotunditas vel aliud

What is the essence of the Sacrament?

<sup>1st</sup> We shall lay down that it is in nature bread; in signification, Christ's body.

<sup>2nd</sup> Examine the common opinion about accidents.

And <sup>3rd</sup> Investigate the essence of the Sacrament.

Avicenna's position that: pure Being is known in the thought that a thing is.

If so, 'substance' is known before 'accident'.

Thus when we see the Sacrament 'as white' &c., we

1. Capitulum deest omnes MSS.

5. vinum B. 16. quoque B.

28. est deest B.

4. hiatus after capitulo AB.

27. sub uno deest CD; ib. fuisse BCD.

13. Avicenna (properly *Husain ibn Abd-Allah*, called *Ibn-Sina*), born in Persia 980 A. D.; died 1037 A. D. His works, translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona (XII<sup>th</sup> century) were first printed in Venice, 1483 and following years. 21. Aristotle begins the work in question with these words: *Πᾶσα διδασκαλία καὶ πᾶσα μάθησις διανοητικὴ ἐκ προὔπαρξουσας γίνεται γνώσεως*. 25. Porphy. Isagoge.

see whiteness  
&c. *in it*, not  
separately.  
It is therefore  
impossible to  
understand that  
any accident  
can exist  
without the  
essence of which  
it forms a part.

And although  
the bread may  
cease to be in  
our thoughts,  
it does not  
cease to sustain  
the accidents.

As God is the  
basis of all  
creatures, so  
substance is the  
basis of all  
accidents.  
Quantity only  
means "the  
being great of  
substance"  
either in  
number (as a  
people) or in  
magnitude (as  
lines, surfaces,  
volumes).

Likewise of  
situation and  
duration;

accidens, cum albedo sit essenciam substance esse  
albam. Et ita de aliis. Et hinc vere dicit doctor Egidius B.  
quod homo non potest intelligere essenciam substantialem  
esse accidentatam sine substantia subiecta. Sic igitur  
videmus colorem, figuram et quantitatem sacramenti, 5  
dum videmus essenciam esse coloratam vel figuratam;  
quia hoc est illud accidens. Sed iuxta Lincolnensem  
forte nos non consideramus de quidditate essencie sic  
accidentate, cum tota intencio nostra debet suspendi in | A 77<sup>e</sup>  
corpus Christi quod est perfectius quam panis materialis; 10  
licet autem desinat esse in actu consideracionis nostre,  
non tamen desinit esse vel visa accidentia subiectare.

Et ex ista consideracione potest patere fidei philosopho  
distincio accidentis; sicut enim substantia divina est basis  
cuilibet creature, sic genus create substance est basis cui- 15  
bet accidenti. Sic quod quantitas sit veritas que est "sub-  
stanciam esse quantam": | quod intelligi potest dupliciter; B 86<sup>e</sup>  
vel quo ad multitudinem vel quo ad magnitudinem. Prima  
quantitas est numerus, ut populus qui est una persona  
est multitudo hominum. Si autem persona sit magna, 20  
hoc intelligi potest tripliciter: vel quod sit linealiter  
magna quod est linea, vel superficialiter magna quod  
est superficies, vel corporee magna quod est corporeitas,  
crassitudo vel altitudo. Quantitas autem rei in com-  
paracione ad partes suas intelligi potest dupliciter: vel 25  
quo ad locacionem aut situacionem, vel quo ad dura-  
cionem. Primo modo est locus vel situs qui est veritas,  
que est mundum situari vel locari secundum se aut  
aliquam sui partem. Unde locus expanditur per totum  
mundum, sed duracio mundi secundum transmutacio- 30  
nem est tempus. Et ab illis duobus generibus quanti-  
tatis originantur duo generalissima ubi et quando, sic  
quod ubicacio sit locacio partis mundi, et quandalitas  
sit duracio partis mundi. Et sicut ubicacio mensuratur  
situ mundi, sic quandalitas mensuratur tempore, ut 35  
docet autor "Sex | Principiorum". Et ita consideran- A 77<sup>e</sup>

1. significat *pro* sit B. 4. substantia *deest* D. 9. accidentato AB;  
*ib.* intencione C. 15. sic B. 35. Et sic CD.

2. *Egidius*. I can find only two writers of this name. One was archbishop of York in the XII<sup>th</sup> century; the other was a deacon of Paris who wrote some Latin poems about the year 1200. Nothing that remains of their writings bears on the subject. 36. Gislebertus Porretanus (Gilbert de la Porée), Bishop of Poitiers, and author of the short but valuable treatise here quoted (see t. 188, p. 1258 of Migne). It was commented by Albert the



dum est de aliis generibus accidentis. Cum autem deus sit veritas, patet quod sicut non potest permittere creaturam esse sine se ipso, sic non potest permittere accidens esse sine subiecto; quia, secundum apostolum  
 5 2<sup>a</sup> Thim. II<sup>o</sup>, Deus verax est, se ipsum negare non potest. Talia autem accidentia quandoque intelliguntur nominaliter abstracte, et quandoque occasionaliter concrete, ut dicit Aristoteles in *post predicamentis* de  
 11. Tim. II, 13 "cecitate" et "cecum esse", et conformiter equivocatur

Now, as no creature can exist without God, so no accident can exist without its subject.

B 86<sup>b</sup> in deo et universitate | creata. Sicut igitur deus mandat fidelibus quod vocent sacramentum altaris panem vere indubie, sic pater mendacii precipit scole sue quod vocet mendaciter sacramentum altaris accidens sine subiecto, ut per illud mendacium subtrahatur subiectus  
 15 venerabili sacramento. Sed non erubesco ewangelium vocando hoc sacramentum panem, sicut spiritus sanctus vocat; et detestando conclusiones patris mendacii, quod ipsum sit panis infinitum abieccior in natura quam panis equi vel ratonis, cum sit panis celestis, panis sanctus,  
 20 et quodammodo corpus Christi. In natura vero sua est panis triticeus, panis azimus et panis fructibus terre elementatus et pistus, propter sensum mysticum quem meminit Augustinus. Constat autem quod nec quantitas fermentatur, subicitur sic accidentibus vel pinsatur.

But these abstract words that denote the accidents are sometimes employed concretely for the subject. Thus the Devil employs the word 'accidents' for 'bread' in his school of lies.

D. 25 Iterum constat, quod si illud accidens foret corpus Christi, Christus pertinentissime tractasset ipsum in manibus,  
 A 78<sup>a</sup> ipsum demo | strasset pronomine et in eius noticiam docuisset; cuius oppositum testantur nedum fideles ecclesie sed adversarii, qui dicunt concorditer quod nesciunt quid  
 30 sit illud sacramentum quod sit accidens per se sine subiecto. Et revera, deus non potest subicere fidelem huic sacramento; ideo vere dicunt, quod non habet subiectum.

But if it were so, Christ would have said so; which all must admit not to have been the case.

Item, tale accidens absconditum ab olym ignotum ecclesie, quod ponitur modo esse de fide, habet rationem per se substandi omni generi accidentium: et illa est per se ratio substantie; igitur illa est illius generis,  
 35 quod deus fecit substantiam. Si dicatur quod miracu-

If an accident can become a subject of other accidents, it becomes a substance. And if it be said to do so by miracle,

3, 4. accidens esse *deest* D. 7. oracionaliter BCD; corr. A.  
 8. *post deest* D. 15. *universali* B. 19. *rationis* B. 37. *facit* B.

Great, and many others; and had the unique honour of being placed in Hermolaüs Barbarus' translation of Aristotle (even in the early printed editions) immediately after *De predicamentis*, which it supplements. He was, with Abailard, St. Bernard's adversary at the council of Reims (1148). 8. Arist. ed. F. Didot, vol. I, p. 18, l. 45.

then God  
continually  
works useless  
miracles.

And if such  
miracles are  
made on  
account of an  
accident, what  
will be done on  
account of real  
substances?

Three weak  
arguments in  
favour of this  
doctrine.

I. The Decretal  
of Innocent III.

II. The Decretal,  
asserts trans-  
substantiation.

III. Respect for  
the Sacrament,  
which, if the  
bread remained,  
would be  
digested, &c.

But the same  
difficulty would  
follow in any  
case, Christ's  
Body being  
present.

The Body of  
Christ is un-  
contaminated,  
and impossible.  
Wizards think  
to harm men  
by hurting their  
wax images,  
and only hurt  
themselves; so  
it is with  
Christ's body.

lose per se subiectat sic accidens | tunc oportet ponere B 86<sup>r</sup>  
cultores signorum facere continue miracula que non  
prosunt. Quid, inquam, prodest quod tale ignotum ac-  
cidens sine subiecto per se recipiat transmutationes  
culpabiles, ut tractacionem, alteracionem et passionem 5  
illicitam sacramenti? Reuera evidencius quicquid agit  
vel patitur creata substantia continue subiectat mira-  
culum, cum non sit ratio quare fictum accidens ex  
naturali sua potencia facit miraculum, quin evidencius  
substantia creata et servata miraculose a deo continue 10  
facit miraculum; sed deficientibus veris miraculis, opor-  
tet quod fingantur falsa miracula; et sicut finguntur  
false officiorum nominaciones, religiones et absoluciones,  
sic fingitur falsa fides de accidentibus, ut utrobique  
seminator mendacii illudat ecclesie. 15

Tres autem evidencias arundineas facit dyabolus ad E.  
con | cludendum quod illud sensibile sacramentum sit A 78<sup>b</sup>  
accidens sine subiecto; primo ex hoc, quod decretalis  
Innocencii 3<sup>ii</sup> dicit quod accidens est sine subiecto; ut  
de celebracione missarum, „Cum Marthe,” ubi multa 20  
recitantur de dicto Innocencio opinata. Secundo, quia  
primo decretalium, titulo primo, capitulo „Firmiter”,  
in fine dicitur panem et vinum transsubstantiari in  
corpus Christi et sangwinem. Sed quia patet inercia ex  
istis concludere quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens 25  
sine subiecto, ideo palliantur alie rime doctorum, cum  
inquiunt, sacramentum altaris transit ad stomachum,  
si ibi remaneret materia, reciperet transmutationes  
pudendas. Sed patet quod idem inconueniens sequeretur  
de pane quem ponunt accidens, cum precise tam diu 30  
remanet ibi | corpus Christi sacramentaliter, quam diu B 86<sup>a</sup>  
ibi remanet forma panis; et quantumcunque polluitur  
illud accidens, corpus Christi remanet inpollutum. Cum  
enim illud non sit ydemptice corpus Christi, absit fide-  
lem credere, quod propter eius pollucionem corpus 35  
Christi polluat; sic enim fingunt incantatores in-  
fideles, quod sciunt facere ymages et cruciare in oculis  
vel aliis partibus inimicum quantumcunque distantem;  
sed per tales ficticias hereticas nocent sibi ipsis et non  
Christi fidelibus et multo magis non fedant vel cruciant 40

1. si pro sic C. 5. panacionem C. 25. sic pro sit C. 36. si D.

19. Decr. Greg., l. III, tit. XLI, c. 6. 22. Decr. Greg.,  
l. I, tit. I, c. 1.



corpus Christi. Unde mures ipsum non lacerant, nec  
 A 78<sup>e</sup> homines ipsum dentibus atterunt vel comburunt | . Licet  
 Ps. enim multi indicent legem Christi esse hereticam, cum  
 CXCIII, "dominus regnavit irascantur populi", quia recipiunt  
 5 equivoce nomen Christi; tamen hoc faciunt ad eorum  
 F. deterioracionem, non ad dampnum Christi. Est autem  
 difficultas scolastica, quam predicacionem in signo  
 Christus recipit, cum videtur decretum *Ego Berengarius*  
 dicere quod corpus Christi dentibus atteritur. Et sic  
 10 clamant multi quod vident corpus Christi in missis  
 oculo corporali, et sic de mille aliis conclusionibus in  
 quibus populus est seductus. Ideo cum equivocatur in  
 talibus, quod Christus sic tractatur in persona propria  
 vel in signo, expedit negare ista sophistis et argucias  
 15 quibus hec inferunt, detegendo quomodo membra vel  
 signa Christi talia paciuntur; et sic glosande sunt scrip-  
 ture et dicta sanctorum. Sed secundo obicitur per  
 doctores mendacii eo quod tunc non liceret homini bis  
 B 87<sup>a</sup> celebrare | in die, quia comedendo panem et potando  
 20 vinum in prima missa dissolveret ieiunium reddendo  
 se ineptum ad iterum celebrandum; igitur oportet quod  
 sacramentum sit accidens. Hic dicitur quod per illud  
 sacramentum contingit solvere ieiunium, cum secundum  
 apostolum post illam cenam dominicam unus esurit,  
 25 alius ebrius est: et secundum autorem "*De divinis*  
*officiis*" illud sacramentum est substantia panis, corpus  
 panis et panis visibilis, qui de terra crevit; cum illo  
 igitur contingit hominem solvere ieiunium, sicut cum  
 G. fumo vescibilium. Sed notandum quod ieiunium a pec-  
 A 78<sup>a</sup> cato | debet servari in cenantibus cenam dominicam, et  
 corporale ieiunium non est curandum nisi de quanto  
 disponit ad istud ieiunium. Unde nostri concedunt  
 quod contingit ministrantem vel aliter laborantem come-  
 dendo et bibendo servare ieiunium ecclesie, sicut patet  
 35 de bibentibus et comedentibus vocatas species tam ante  
 prandium quam post: ymo Christus dedit corpus suum  
 discipulis suis post cenam; sicut homines infirmi,  
 quando egent plus digne corpus Christi assumere, com-  
 municantur post prandium. Ideo absit fidelem credere  
 40 quod ordinacio qua decretum est homines celebrare  
 ieiunios, faciat accidens esse sine subiecto. Nam eccle-

But a decree  
 seems to say  
 that Christ's  
 body is ground  
 with the teeth.

Only the sign  
 is thus treated,  
 not the thing  
 signified.  
 They say: if  
 the bread  
 remains, the  
 Priest cannot  
 say Mass twice,  
 since the fast  
 is broken.

But the fast is  
 really broken  
 in any case,  
 according to  
 the Apostle's  
 words.

The great point  
 is to fast from  
 sin.

Christ's  
 disciples  
 communicated,  
 when not  
 fasting; nor do  
 the sick fast.

5. cum AB; tum C.  
 ib. dissolvere B.

8. tum C; tamen D.

23. contingit B;

This is a  
commandment  
of the Church,  
which might be  
abolished.

Again, words  
of the Saints  
are quoted  
against us.

But if these  
Saints say that  
only the  
qualities  
remain, they  
contradict  
St. Thomas;  
quality,  
implying 'more  
or less', is the  
subject of  
quantity: which  
he rightly  
denies.

It would be  
stultifying their  
doctrine to say  
that all  
accidents are  
qualities.

When therefore  
they speak thus  
we understand  
them to mean  
the visible and  
material essence  
of the  
Sacrament.

sia potuit ordinasse rationabiliter quod celebrans parum ante comedat et multo magis quod post locionem cum aqua vel vino iterum celebret eodem die. Et patet nuditas istius evidencie ad probandum quod non sit sacramentum altaris sensibile, nisi accidens. Tercio adducitur testimonium sanctorum sinistre conceptum, et allegatur | de Augustino, Anselmo et aliis, quod solum B 87<sup>b</sup> qualitates remanent in sacramento post consecrationem. Nam tunc solum qualitates sunt sacramentum; et per consequens, cum ille qualitates possent maiorari et minorari, ille qualitates forent subiecta quantitati eis formaliter inherenti; quod est contra sanctum Thomam super 4<sup>o</sup> distincione 12 questione prima articulorum. Sicut enim quantitas est dimensio que immediate consequitur materiam primam | existentem primum fundamentum nature, sic alia accidentia non possunt ipsam in natura precedere. Nec valet dicere, quod omnia H. genera accidentis sunt qualitates, quia hoc foret imponere philosophis et sanctis doctoribus nimis magnam stulticiam. Nam substantialis qualitas, ex 5<sup>to</sup> Methaphisice 20 et principiis gramaticorum, est qualitas quam necesse est per se esse; et sic nichil esset vel posset esse nisi qualitas. Sed videtur michi probabile sanctos doctores intelligere per visibiles species essencias materiales ut sunt sensibiles, sicut in predicatione secundum causam 25 vel secundum subiectum sive materiam; fides autem scripture sic loquitur: "Christus est *propiciacio* pro peccatis nostris", prima Joh. II<sup>o</sup>; et II<sup>a</sup> Cor. V<sup>to</sup> Christus vocatur "*peccatum*". Et Ecclesiastici XLIV de iusto sacerdote dicitur, quod "in tempore iracundie factus est *reconciliacio*". Et isto modo videtur autorem supradictum loqui ubi supra. "In illo," inquit, "in quo fides non est, preter visibiles species panis et vini, nichil de sacrificio pervenit." Ideo solebam dicere quod si sacrificium altaris sit accidens, illud est solum illud fictum sacramentum quod recipit infidelis | . Certum est tamen B 87<sup>a</sup> quod iste maior intelligit per visibiles species panis et vini illam essenciam ut est sensibilis. Unde consequen-

14, 15. sequitur B. 24. intelligi CD. 28. patet B. 31. supradictum *deest* B. 35. illud *deest* B.

12. St. Th. Aq. In *Libris Sent.*, I. IV, Dist. 12, art. 1, quest<sup>ia</sup> 3<sup>a</sup> Resp. ad primum. 20. Arist. ed. F. Didot, vol. II, p. 526, l. 5; p. 521, l. 8, 36.

I. Jo.  
II, 2  
II. Cor.  
V, 21



- ter dicitur, quod vita animalis caro est. Et locutio  
 secundum illam predicationem est crebrior in scriptura,  
 quia certum est quod ad interiora tam infidelis quam  
 1. muris venit materialis essentia sacramenti. Unde, ut  
 5 supra tetigi, potest intelligi per speciem et similitudi-  
 A 79<sup>b</sup> nem de quibus loquitur Gregorius, ipsa essentia | ut est  
 sensibilis et mystice similis corpori Christi. Et sic in-  
 telligi potest dictum Anselmi, quod false ascribitur  
 Augustino, quod nichil de pane remanet post conse-  
 10 cracionem, nisi sensibilis qualitas. Sunt enim verba  
 venerabilis Anselmi in quodam libello de sacramento  
 altaris; et verisimile est quod allegaret magistrum suum  
 Augustinum, si forent ex integro verba sua; sic enim  
 facit in Monologion ubi capit nude sententiam Augustini.  
 15 Ideo vel mendaces vel scriptores propter similitudinem  
 nominum Augustini et Anselmi fecerunt, quod illa  
 verba ascriberentur magno doctori Augustino. Non  
 enim ita leviter moveret tantus doctor, quod solum  
 qualitas remaneat post versionem uxoris Loth in sta-  
 20 tuam salis et silicis in vitrum. Quid enim pertinent ista  
 ad inferendum quod accidens est sine subiecto? Unde  
 swadent quod illa miraculosa conversio sacramenti sit  
 deo possibilis, et infinitum magis mirabilis propter in-  
 mensitatem miraculi, quam dictum opus nature.  
 K. 25 Et quantum ad sensum doctoris Anselmi videtur  
 B 87<sup>d</sup> michi ipsum intelligere quod solum qua | litates panis  
 et vini remanent forte in actu consideracionis; non  
 tamen vult negare, quin remanent in sacramento alia  
 octo genera accidentis. Unde miror quod moderni socii  
 30 tantum ponderant illud dictum, cum venerabilis Ansel-  
 mus dicit in libro suo De veritate, capitulo finali, quod  
 A 79<sup>a</sup> accidens non potest esse sine subiecto, | sicut dicit  
 Augustinus; secundo, quia sanctus Thomas, cui illi inni-  
 tuntur, vere dicit quod impossibile est talem qualitatem  
 35 naturalem esse, nisi fuerit fundata in quantitate, que  
 est primum genus accidentis; et tercio quia ipsimet

This mode of  
 speech (taking  
 the abstract for  
 the concrete) is  
 common in  
 Scripture.

The words  
 attributed to  
 Augustine  
 belong to a  
 work of  
 Anselm.

Besides, from  
 his instances,  
 Lot's wife  
 changed into  
 a pillar of salt,  
 &c., Augustine  
 could hardly  
 say that quality  
 alone remained.

And he can  
 be understood  
 in our sense.

He says himself  
 that no  
 accident can  
 exist without a  
 subject.  
 And  
 St. Thomas  
 asserts that  
 quality must be  
 based upon  
 quantity.

4. nutris C; *ib.* et A. 9. beatus Gregorius CD. 9. remaneret B.  
 20. felicis AD. 24. miraculis *pro* mirabilis B. 27. consideracionis  
 fidelium C. 33. Augustino *omnes* MSS; *ib.* quod BC.

11. Ans. Ep. CVII. *De corpore et sanguine Domini* (Migne,  
 t. 159, p. 256). 30. St. Anselm, has the following words in  
 the last ch. *De Veritate*: Existente namque corpore, colorem  
 eius necesse est esse; et pereunte corpore, colorem eius manere  
 impossibile est (Migne, t. 158, p. 484). 33. St. Th. Aq. *In*  
*lib. Sent.* c. IV, Dist. XII, art. 1. *Et ideo dicendum est.*

And all agree  
that the  
Sacrament  
if not bread, is  
an aggregate of  
quality and  
quantity.  
How then can  
Anselm mean  
that quality  
alone remains?

Those who  
quote this text  
should do so  
only to  
condemn it.

Again, they  
say that the  
word 'bread'  
is to be  
understood  
metaphorically,  
as the  
semblance of  
bread.

But, according  
to Scripture,  
Ambrose and  
Augustine, this  
is not  
possible.

The bread  
becomes  
something  
better; if so,  
it surely is not  
annihilated.

Quotation from  
Cyprian,  
contradicting  
annihilation.

doctores dicunt michi, quod sacramentum altaris quod equivoce panis dicitur, est quedam agregacio accidentium quantitatis et qualitatis. Cum igitur dictum Anselmi asserat quod solum qualitas remanet, directe obviat iste sentencie, et manifeste patet quod nichil eis<sup>5</sup> impertinencius quam allegare pro se hoc dictum. Nam allegacio non valet eis, nisi ut dictum id dampnetur, vel ut glossa eius infundabilis cumuletur; cum itaque secundum antiquos sanctos et modernos impossibile est quod solum qualitates remaneant, patet quod deus<sup>10</sup> ordinavit hoc dictum asscribi Augustino et Anselmo ut sensus eorum predictus concorditer sit scrutatus, et multo magis ut verba fidei defendantur.

Unde ob reverenciam scripture concedunt socii cum Ambrosio, Augustino et usu ecclesie, quod sacramen-<sup>15</sup> tum altaris est panis sensibilis et corpus Christi, sed valde equivoce; quod dicitur panis eo quod similitudo panis, cum in natura sua sit accidens; et dicitur corpus Christi, quia figurat sacramentaliter corpus Christi. | Sed<sup>B 88\*</sup> patet ex dictis, quod oportet intelligere scripturam<sup>20 L.</sup> I<sup>a</sup> Cor. X et XI de substantia panis, ut dicit Ambrosius I. Cor. et Augustinus in De sacramento altaris: "Corpus Christi<sup>X, 16;</sup> et veritas et figura est. Veritas | dum corpus Christi<sup>XI, 24</sup> et sanguis, virtute ipsius, in verbo ipsius, panis vique<sup>A 79<sup>d</sup></sup> substantia efficitur; figura vero est illud quod exterius<sup>25</sup> sentitur. "Et iste videtur sensus cantus ecclesie:

Verbum caro, panem verum

Verbo carnem efficit etc.

Unde panis non anichilatur, sed melioratur, dicente Augustino eodem, ubi prius, in "De sacramento altaris":<sup>30</sup> "Credendum est quod in verbis Christi sacramenta conficiantur: cuius enim potencia creantur prius, eius utique verbo ad melius recreantur." Si autem ad melius recreantur, non omnino destruuntur, dicente Cypriano in quadam epistola (et recitat eum Wymundus)<sup>35</sup>

2. est deest D. 5. iste AB. 6. per pro pro. 17. quia AB.

22. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars Dist. II, c. 79. 35. Cypr. Epist., l. I, 6. Quoted by Guitmundus, *De Corporis et Sanguine Domini veritate* (Migne, t. 149, p. 1459). — Wymundus, also called Guitmundus, Witmundus, &c., archbishop of Aversa in Italy, is also known by the name of *Christianus*, which he afterwards took, as pointed out by Chifflet (Migne, t. 148, p. 1452, 3). His name occurs several times in *De Apostasia*. Wyclif's aim is to show his own orthodoxy by his agreement with one of the greatest adversaries of Berengarius.



"Denique", inquit, "unanimitate Christianos firma sibi atque inseparabili caritate connexos eciam ipsa dominica sacramenta declarant; nam quando dominus corpus suum panem vocat de multiplici granorum adunacione  
 5 congestum propter nostrum quem portabat indicat adunatum, et quando sanguinem suum appellat de botris atque acinis plurimis expressum atque in unum coactum gregem nostrum signat commixtione adunate multitudinis copulatum." Et idem dicunt sancti de millenario  
 10 Christi concorditer.

M. Unde solebam ponere tres conclusiones in ista materia, quas catholicus debet usque ad mortem defendere: Prima, quecumque persona vel secta est nimis heretica, que pertinaciter defenderit quod sacramentum

15 altaris per se existens in natura sua infinitum abieccior  
 A 80<sup>a</sup> equi pane ac in | perfeccior est; secunda, quicumque  
 B 88<sup>b</sup> pertinaciter defenderit quod dictum sacramentum sit

accidens, quantitas, qualitas aut eorum agregacio, incidit in heresim supradictam; tertia, panis triticeus in  
 20 quo solum licet conficere est in natura infinitum perfeccior pane fabino vel ratonis, quorum uterque in natura est perfeccior accidente. Patet conclusio ex hoc quod quicumque defenderit sic, defendit pertinaciter

docma scripture sacre contrarium, quia tractatui apostoli 1<sup>a</sup> Cor. X et XI de corpore Christi vel cena dominica, ut patet per expositionem Ambrosii, Augustini et aliorum sanctorum, qui fuerunt pape precipui. Nam verum panem cenaverunt Christi discipuli; et foret nimis absolutum a fide scripture quod Christus pavit  
 30 suos discipulos pane infinitum peiori quam est panis ratonis vel panis alius venenosus. Hoc enim non excitarret, sed revocaret catholicos ex nimietate horroris accipere sacramentum; nec posset tale sacramentum perfici per accidens, cum non poterit alterari.

35 Sed quia Wymundus in tractatu suo de sacramento altaris contra Berengarium videtur esse autor capitalis N. sic opinancium; ideo arguitur ex eius testimonio, quod impossibile est sacramentum altaris quod est eukaristia, esse quacunque materiali substancia abieccius in natura. Scribit enim libro suo secundo, quod eukaristia  
 40 sit sacramentum corporis domini intransitive loquendo,

Three conclusions:  
 1<sup>st</sup> 'that the Sacrament is by nature an abject thing' is a heresy;

2<sup>nd</sup> 'that its nature consists in being an accident';  
*ditto*;  
 3<sup>rd</sup> that wheaten bread is more perfect than any accident.

The first two propositions are unscriptural and therefore a heresy.

Value of Guitmundus' testimony as the adversary of Berengarius.

He says that the Sacrament is the body of Christ and a sign of the grace of God.

16. est *deest* BCD.

22. patet conclusio patet CD.

23. sic defendit sic CD.

31. rationis C.

id est, vere corpus domini et sacramentum aliarum rerum, scilicet bonitatis redempcionis et communionis corporis Christi mistici; ipsa tamen est corpus Christi proprium et corporis quod est ecclesia sacramentum.

His words  
quoted:  
"Not a figure  
of Christ's  
body, but the  
reality".

Another  
passage.  
"Three  
particles of the  
Host, are not  
three bodies but  
one Body".

"The  
Sacrament is  
rightly called  
bread and wine,  
because after  
the change it  
still appears to  
be so."

He is  
therefore very  
far from  
granting that  
the Eucharist  
is a mere  
accident.

This doctrine  
is supported  
neither by  
Scripture nor  
by the Fathers.

It is only in  
a peculiar sense  
that the  
Sacrament is  
Christ's Body.  
Augustine  
speaks of the

"Sacri," inquit, "altaris | oblatio, cum substantia cor- A 80<sup>b</sup>  
poris Christi veraciter sit, alia misteria de ipso domino  
vel eius ecclesia absque | fidei periculo signare potest; B 88<sup>c</sup>  
sed non est signum vel figura corporis Christi proprii,  
cum sit substancialiter ipsum corpus." Unde libro 1<sup>o</sup>  
ita inquit: "Tota hostia est corpus Christi, ut nichilo- 10  
minus unaqueque particula separata sit totum corpus  
Christi: nec tamen tres particule separate sunt tria  
corpora, sed unum corpus; nec ipse etiam particule a  
se tanquam plures differunt; quia quod corporis tocus  
una est, hoc et cetera sunt. Itaque iam non plures par- 15  
ticule dicende sunt, sed una pocius hostia integra et  
indivisa, licet officio sacerdotis videatur quasi dividi.  
Similiter et si dentibus vel quo alio hec frangi viden-  
tur, intelligimus non hec frangi. Unde consequenter,  
libro 2<sup>o</sup>: "Quis," inquit, "illud negat, quis enim non ut 20  
pocius libenter fatetur, quod sacramenta mense domi-  
nice rite panis et vinum vocantur, vel quia prius panis  
et vinum fuerunt, vel quia panis et vini similitudinem  
substancialiter transmutata servant?"

Ex hiis et aliis dictis suis patet, quod inter omnes 25  
scribentes plus alienum fuit a proposito huius episcopi  
concedere quod sacramentum altaris per se existens  
sit in natura accidens vel agregacio accidentis. Ipse  
enim dicit quod accidens non potest esse sine subiecto.

Item, non est fundabile in scriptura vel sanctis docto- 30 O.  
ribus de millenario Christi, sed pocius reprobatur, quod  
eukaristia sit accidens; igitur cum sit ita dissonum in  
materia | fidei, videtur quod pertinaciter illud defendere A 80<sup>c</sup>  
foret hereticum. Argumentum patet ex dictis, cum fides  
scripture, sancti doctores, leges, et usus ecclesie vocant 35  
regulariter ipsum panem, et, ad sensum alium indubie | B 88<sup>d</sup>  
equivocum, corpus Christi. Unde Augustinus, De fide

4. corpus B. 6. aliqua B. 17. officiosa ABD. 18. alio modo  
pro quo alio CD; aliquo pro quo B.

5. Guitmundus, ubi supra. Migne, t. 149, p. 1461; but the  
words following *potest* are wanting in the text. 9. Guit-  
mundus, ubi supra. Migne, t. 149, p. 1454.



ad Petrum: "Firmissime tene et nullatenus dubites ipsum unigenitum verbum carnem factum, qui se pro nobis obtulit sacrificium et hostiam in odorem suavitatis, cui cum patre et spiritu sancto a patriarchis et prophetis et sacerdotibus tempore veteris testamenti animalia sacrificabantur, et cui nunc, id est, tempore novi testamenti, cum patre et spiritu sancto cum quibus est illi una divinitas, sacrificium panis et vini in fide et caritate sancta ecclesia catholica per universum orbem terre offerre non cessat." Item beatus Bernhardus in quodam sermone qui sic incipit; "Misereor," declarat quod panis accipitur septemplex in scriptura; Jo. VI, 52 "septimo," inquit, "accipitur pro eucharistia, ut Joh. VI: Panis, inquit, quem ego dabo, caro mea est pro mundi vita." Et idem dicit Wimundus et doctores usque hodie concorditer; que igitur foret devocio sive religio, quod sacerdos sceleratissimus facit quotidie creaturam abiectissimam vel potius unum nichil imperfecius ligno vel lapide deum suum? Revera hoc excedit infideles in Jer. II, 10, veteri lege et sacerdotes Baal; ut patet Jeremie II<sup>o</sup> et Dan. XIV, 4 Danielis ultimo. Isti enim posuerunt istas esse substantias et figurare | deum deorum, qui non deteriorat suam fabricam; nostri autem ponunt unam agregacionem accidentium, nesciunt quorum, esse panem sanctum et corpus Christi; et per consequens deum nostrum; abiectiorem autem panem in natura sua deus non posset facere, tum quia ille panis nullius nature est, nisi fuerit generalis nature accidentis; tum etiam quia B 89<sup>a</sup> non quilibet potest esse | panis, sed solum substantia vel accidens panis materialis. Et hic miror quod concedunt deum facere abiectissimum panem quem potest, et negant eum facere perfectissimum panem quem potest.

P. Secta autem ista est ad tantum maniaca quod dicit 35 errorem suum fulciri ab universali ecclesia ac si crederet se ipsam supponere totam ecclesiam; sic quod

"sacrifice of bread and wine".

Bernard says that "the seventh meaning of 'bread' in Holy Writ is the Eucharist".

To adore such an accident is worse than idolatry; idolaters at least take a substance, v. g. wood, as their God.

This sect goes to the mad extreme of asserting that the universal Church favours their error.

4. et A. 5. et sacerdotibus deest B. 17, 18. abiectissimam deest D. 35. si deest CD.

1. *De Fide ad Petrum*. Migne, t. 40, p. 772. This work, proved by Erasmus to be spurious, is now believed to have been written by Fulgentius, on account of the discovery of a very old MS. at Corbie. 13. Bern. Serm. 1 pro Dom. VI post Pent. in fine (Migne, t. 183, p. 339).

The Spouse  
of Christ is  
indeed  
persecuted by  
Gog and  
Magog;

who cry out  
that he who  
holds the  
ancient doctrine  
of the Saints is  
against the  
Church.

There have  
been three  
opinions  
concerning the  
Eucharist.

1<sup>st</sup> That of the  
first 1000 years.

2<sup>nd</sup> That of  
Guitmundus.

3<sup>rd</sup> That of our  
modern doctors  
who affirm it  
to be mere  
quantity,  
or sensible  
quality, existing  
by itself; or a  
mere bundle of  
accidents.

Fallacies of Gog  
and Magog;

nulla sit militans ecclesia, quam non regit. Sed talis  
maniacus consideraret quomodo sancta mater ecclesia  
ab origine mundi usque ad diem novissimum est una  
persona, mulier fortis et sponsa Christi. Hec in medio  
etatis sue fuit copulata sponso suo Christo noviter in- 5  
carnato. Post cuius millenarium per unum meditullium  
temporis, soluto patre mendacii, et tanta mania percus-  
sus est Gog et Magog, quod putat quicquid Gog non  
autorisaverit et Magog non invenerit, est contra de-  
terioracionem ecclesie universalis; ut pro toto mille- 10  
nario Christi nesciunt invenire suum trimembre genus  
sacramenti altaris, sed directe contrarium. Et tamen  
clamant et blaterant quod tenens antiquam sanctorum  
sententiam, | contradicit universali ecclesie; Magog putat A 81<sup>a</sup>  
enim quod ab ipso per se regente universalem eccle- 15  
siam pendeat totus mundus. Tres itaque variaciones  
notari possunt in materia de quidditate eukaristie;  
prima regnante veritate pro millenario Christi dicit  
quod ipsa hostia est substantia panis in natura, sed  
sacramentaliter corpus Christi, ut dicunt sancti; et ista 20  
fides manet semper apud catholicos. Secunda fuit pro  
millenario solucionis sathane multiplex variacio in  
materia de quidditate hostie, ut tempore Beren | garii B 89<sup>b</sup>  
et Wymundi; ipse enim videtur dicere quod sacramen-  
tum sit in natura vel substantia solummodo corpus; 25  
sed tercio magi pharaonis magis defecerant, ut hii Q.  
capiunt a doctore communi quod ipsum sit quantitas,  
cum ipsum per se existit et sit multipliciter sensibile,  
sed sola quantitas, ut inquit, subiectat sensibiles  
qualitates. Hii autem capiunt a doctore subtili cum 30  
secta sua quod sacramentum sit qualitas sensibilis per  
se existens. Et hii tercio pessime sompnant, quod  
ipsum sacramentum nichil est nec potest videri oculo  
corporali, cum sit agregacio accidentium, quorum multa  
non poterunt sic videri. Teneamus igitur fidem quam 35  
Ambrosius et Johannes Damascenus egregie declarave-  
runt; et caveamus de fallaciis Gog et Magog. Arguit  
enim: Si sacramentum altaris in natura sit imperfeccius

8. et *deest* CD.  
Mag<sup>g</sup> omnes MSS.

9, 10. deterioracionem omnes MSS.  
37. et *deest* C.

14. Quia

27. Unless *Doctor communis* stands here for *Doctor Uni-  
versalis* (Alanus de Insulis) I think it must be the surname of  
some theologian in Wyclif's time, Migne's biographical Index of  
writers anterior to St. Thomas contains no such surname.



Lucifero et serpente, igitur per idem est imperfeccius  
 vicio et veneno; sed mandat deus credi a cunctis fide-  
 libus, quod optimum vinum sacramentale quod Christus  
 unquam propinavit ecclesie sit in natura infinitum de-  
 B 81<sup>c</sup> terius quam | venenum; et tercio concludit fideles de-  
 bere credere Christum fecisse eque bene vel melius tam  
 in natura quam moribus ad profectum ecclesie, ser-  
 vando naturalem substantiam sacramenti, nisi ecclesia  
 in ipso determinasset oppositum. Sed procul a fidelibus  
 10 hec venena! Augustinus enim ponit sacramentorum sub-  
 stancias in melius recreari.

v. g. that the  
 best wine is  
 worse than  
 poison;  
 or that Christ  
 would have  
 done better to  
 have kept the  
 natural  
 substance of  
 bread as it is,  
 unless the  
 Church had  
 decreed  
 otherwise.

i. perfectius. AB.    ii. creari etc. B.

## CAPITULUM UNDECIMUM.

Can an accident exist without its subject? i. e. quantity, quality or relation.

Negated.  
1<sup>st</sup> Proof. The essential difference between substance and accident is that the latter is necessarily inherent in the former.

Guitmundus quoted in support of this. "If accidents were anything, they would exist in their subject".

Distinction: they can exist without a subject *supernaturally*, not *naturally*. Answer: Then to inhere would no longer be *essential*.

A substantial form might become an accident.

Restat videre directe ulterius, si accidens possit manere sine subiecto; et, ne equivocetur in terminis, suppono quod per accidens intelligatur: quantitas, qualitas vel respectus. | Et cum dubium verificaretur B 89<sup>e</sup> potissime de duabus prioribus, arguo de illis, quod non possunt esse sine substantia quam informent. Primo sic: Differencia essentialis per quam accidens differt a substantia est formaliter inherere; sed nulla differencia essentialis potest tolli, igitur nec illa inherencia ad 10 subiectum. Confirmatur per Wymundum, libro De eukaristia, de accidentibus sic dicentem: "Si," inquit, "aliquid essent, in subiecto essent; sed, contrariis supervenientibus, nec in suo possunt remanere subiecto, nec ad alia transmeare." Si igitur ille tam acceptus a cul- 15 toribus accidentis hoc asserit, stultum videtur inniti eius testimonio ad ponendum quod solum accidens per se existens sine subiecto sit eukaristia.

Nec valet ficticia, qua dicitur accidens non posse naturaliter, sed supernaturaliter per se esse; primo, quia 20 sic inherere foret accidentale accidenti et non quantitati aut qualitati per se differencia, sed solum | respectu- A 81<sup>e</sup> bus, qui equivoce dicuntur accidentia respectu priorum; secundo, quia sic posset deus facere formam substantialem materialem inherere, cum potest accionem 25

1. Capitulum deest omnes MSS. 7. possent D. 22. qualis C.

9. The word *formaliter* has many different meanings in the Scholastic language. Here I take it to mean 'as a form, i. e. as a perfection, as an actuality (opposed to potentiality)' in the substance. And therefore *necessarily*. It is the important word in the argument. Defenders of absolute accidents would merely describe them as *having a natural tendency* to inhere: which might be counteracted by miracle. 12. Guitmundus, ubi supra, Migne, t. 149, p. 1443.



- sui remanentis omnino suspendere; tercio, quia iuxta  
adversarios deus posset facere dictas res per se esse de  
communi cursu nature, et formas alias quas dicimus  
substantiales formaliter inherere; et per consequens  
5 posset mutare genera rerum faciendo quidlibet esse  
quidlibet, cum inherere vel per se esse sit accidentale  
B. cuicumque create essencie. Item, deus nichil agit super-  
flue: sed superflueret ponere quantitatem et qualitatem  
que possent per se esse, cum illis positis oporteret  
10 ponere quantitatem et qualitatem sufficientes informare,  
omnino sicut ille facerent, que non potuerunt per se  
B 89<sup>4</sup> esse; igitur deus non facit huiusmodi qualitates |  
quantitates. Si igitur sunt, sunt a deo Manicheorum.  
Assumptum patet ex hoc quod deus non potest quic-  
15 quam facere, nisi gracia finis debiti et manifesta ratione;  
cum aliter foret insipiens. Et minor patet ex hoc quod,  
posita quantitate vel qualitate que fingitur accidenta-  
liter informare, oportet preter ipsam ponere informa-  
cionem, qua subiectum sit formaliter quantum vel  
20 quale; et illa sufficit sine alia ficta, positis partibus  
substantialibus cum suis modis. Si enim A quantitas  
informat B subiectum et manebit in fine et non in-  
formans ipsum, oportet ponere informacionem distinc-  
tam, que sibi accidit: et notum est, si illius fieret  
25 alia informacio, foret processus in infinitum in talibus.  
Ideo secundum Augustinum 5<sup>10</sup> De trinitate, capitulo  
A 81<sup>9</sup> 13<sup>o</sup>, | sufficit ponere quantitatem que sit substantiam  
esse quantam, et qualitatem que sit substantiam esse  
qualem. Cum igitur hoc per se sufficit, hoc non potest  
30 esse sine subiecto, ut hodie blasphematur; nichil enim  
plus blasphematur in deum quam imponere sibi autorisa-  
cionem operis sine causa ad finem quem compendiose  
intendit. Nec dubium quin oportet ponere informacio-  
nem istorum accidencium distinctam; ut, posito per eis  
35 possibile, quod deus infinicies suspendit tam qualitatis  
quam quantitatis A subiecti informacionem, manente  
utraque essencia in eodem loco: manifestum est, quod  
A per vices sic intensum et remissum minorabitur,  
alias mutabitur aquirendo et deperdendo per vices

And every  
thing,  
everything else.

Why should  
God make a  
'quantity' that  
can exist by  
itself, if one  
that cannot has  
to be posited  
in any case?

Such a scheme  
of things would  
come from the  
Evil God of  
Manichaeus.

If a quantity  
having to  
inform a  
subject does not  
inform it by  
itself, another  
form will be  
required to do  
so; and so on  
forever.  
Quantity  
defined:  
"the being so  
great of a  
substance";  
Quality  
likewise.

If they were  
separate  
entities, the  
subject might  
be with and  
then without  
them.

1. quod B. 3. quas deest B. 5. mutuare omnes MSS. 9, 10. que —  
qualitatem deest BCD. 22. et deest BC. 33. incedit B. 34. posito  
deest D. 36. a sub informacionem BC; corr. A; aut sub D.

27. What comes nearest to the sense here indicated is, I  
believe, De Trin. I. VII, c. 1 (Migne, t. 42, p. 935).

Then they  
would be  
superfluous.

It cannot be  
said that an  
accident is  
distinct from  
its subject,  
unless a  
substantial  
form be also  
capable of  
existing without  
subject; it  
being more  
perfect than  
any accident.

Quantity  
follows matter;  
quality depends  
on the  
substantial  
form; matter  
and form are  
in some sort  
substance:  
which accidents  
cannot be.  
Pope Innocent  
says that the  
bread-ness and  
wine-ness  
remain after  
consecration.  
This the  
adversaries  
deny.  
But bread-ness  
and wine-ness  
are the  
substantial  
forms of bread  
and wine.

Even the  
*materia prima*  
cannot exist by  
itself.  
Nor can the  
substantial  
forms either.

qualitatem et quantitatem. Cum igitur subiectum sufficit cum illis in omnem utilitatem in quam sufficit cum accidentibus illis absconditis, manifestum est, quod ille superfluerent. Nec diceretur aliquid | accidens distin- B 90<sup>a</sup>  
gwi a subiecto, nisi ponatur illa esse accidentia, per 5  
quorum adquisicionem et deperditionem subiectum tam  
varie moveretur. Item proporcionabiliter ut aliquid est C.  
in natura propinquius substancie, potest ipsum per se  
stare; sed forma substancialis materialis et materia  
prima est propinquior in natura substancie quam genus 10  
aliquod accidentis; igitur ipsa possunt evidencius per  
se stare. Maior patet ex hoc, quod illa est ratio sub-  
stancie in quantum talis. Et confirmatur ex testimonio  
adversariorum, qui propterea ponunt solum quantitatem  
posse per se esse, quia est primum genus accidentis, 15  
consequens materiam que est prior forma; vel | secun- A 82<sup>a</sup>  
dum alios solum quantitas et qualitas ponuntur per se  
esse, quia qualitas de propinquo consequitur formam  
substancialem. Et minor argumenti patet ex hoc, quod  
utrumque istorum elementorum est modo suo sub- 20  
stancia, et idem quodammodo substancie composite;  
hoc autem non potest competere accidenti. Unde in  
confirmacionem istius papa Innocencius 3<sup>us</sup>, qui creditur  
esse autor istius opinionis, dicit in tractatu suo de  
eukaristia, quod panitas et vinitas remanent in sacra- 25  
mento post consecracionem; sed secte, tanquam ingrati  
filii, dicunt cum Aristotele, quod hoc non potest esse.  
Sed de accidentibus (quod est evidencius et Aristoteles  
dicit expressius) nolunt revocare errorem, quin ipsa  
oporteat per se esse. Nec dubium quin panitas et vini- 30  
tas sunt forme substanciales, que cum remanent patet  
ex opinione Innocencii III<sup>ii</sup>, quod remanent sacramen-  
tum. Si enim materia prima remaneat per tempus in-  
formis, cum non sit quid nisi per formam, sequitur  
quod per | illud tempus pure remanet nichil. Et ista B 90<sup>b</sup>  
est sententia illius fidelis philosophi Ursonis, qui capitulo 3<sup>o</sup> libri sui "De mixtionibus elementorum" dicit,  
quod materia est medium inter substanciam et accidens,  
nec accidens, ut inquit, poterit per se esse. De forma

33. maneat CD. 34. sed *pro* sequitur BC.

36. Urso, a scholastic and natural philosopher of the XII<sup>th</sup> century, quoted by Wyclif in *De Compositione Hominis*, *De Ente Predicamentali* and elsewhere. His Aphorisms and other writings are in the Bodleian library.



- autem substanciali patet, quod si ipsa est, tunc ipsa informat substancialiam; ut, si igneitas est, tunc secundum ipsam aliquid est formaliter ignis; ymo, ut adversarii vere concedunt, si quantitas est secundum ipsam, aliquid est formaliter quantum. Si igitur panitas et vinitas sunt, est dare aliqua que secundum ipsas sunt formaliter panis et vinum; et sic, si forma substancialis materialis non poterit per se esse, longe evidencius forma accidentalis materialis non poterit per se esse.
- D. 10 Item, si forma substancialis vel accidentalis per se esset, ipsa de se foret formatum non per accidens sed se ipsa; ut, si essenciam esse quantam, que indubie est forma, foret per se ipsa, foret illa quantitas; et sic de aliis formis tam substancialibus quam accidentalibus. Et ideo declarat Lincolniensi quod "deus est prima forma." Cum igitur quolibet forma, in quantum accidentalis, habet in se quandam potenciam cui accidit informari, videtur quod quolibet forma, in quantum accidentalis, includit in se suum subiectum. Ideo dicit Lincolniensis super 2<sup>o</sup> posteriorum 2<sup>o</sup> capitulo: "Causa," inquit, "eadem rei est eius causa formalis; quia forma totum verum esse rei in se habet, et si sit forma que non egeat materia, ipsa est vere res ipsa; et forma que eget materia, si posset subsistere absque materia, esset verius res ipsa quam res materiata; sicut si figura statue posset esse sine materia, esset ipsa figura verius res ipsa quam res materiata." Si igitur quantitas et qualitas sacramenti remanent sine subiecto, ipse informant se ipsas ut deus; cum certum est quod sicut est unum quantum continuum, ita est unum figuratum album et sapidum, quia sensus aliter nimis illuderentur circa illa sensibilia. Nec est ratio quare quantitas per se existens quanta, quin per idem albedo si per se afficit, foret alba. Nec dubium quin oportet ponere unam potenciam sive essenciam que substernatur varietatibus istorum accidencium; quia aliter, ut ait Augustinus 5<sup>10</sup> De trinitate, capitulo 3<sup>o</sup>, forent deus.
- A 82<sup>e</sup> Nam | distincio est inter *corpus esse album* et *hoc corpus esse sic album*. Ideo, cum ista albedo sit natura

How then can accidental forms, less perfect, exist by themselves? No form can possibly be accidental, if it exists by itself:

Thus God is the 'primordial form'.

The formal cause includes the whole *esse* of anything; and if it could subsist without matter, it would be the perfect and ideal thing.

Thus quality and quantity in the Sacrament would be self-sufficient, like God.

An abstract quality must exist in a subject that is other than itself; indefinite in itself, it is either limited by a subject, or infinite, as God.

2. informatur substancia BCD. 5. Sic igitur AB; sic igitur si C; si igitur si D. 13. ipso BCD. 18. informare D.

21. *Rei* is in the dative here. "A cause identical with the thing itself . . ." 37. Chapter IV. of the same book (Migne, t. 42, p. 913) seems to come nearest to Wyclif's meaning.

posterior hoc corpore, ista albedo non potest esse sine hoc corpore, sed e contra; genus autem vel species albedinis potest esse sine hoc corpore, sed de ultimo individuo accidentis.

Names should be given to things according to their properties; so the Sacrament, having all the properties of bread, is properly named so. It has even essential properties, such as action and passion.

Innocent says that when the Host is altered (chemically) the same individual *materia prima* returns: it must therefore have existed all the time.

When the substance is changed, the name changes too.

If an accident could acquire the properties of substance, it should be called so; an unnecessary miracle, since the permanence of the substance would suffice.

Item, ex proprietatibus debet res sortiri nomen reale, 5 E. non ab institucione humana; sed dictum sacramentum habet plene proprietates substancie panis; igitur deus vere nominat ipsum nomine panis: et sic quadruplex ewangelium et apostolus regulariter vocant ipsum panem. Si enim accidentalis similitudo pensatur, patet quod 10 nichil potest esse pani similis quam hoc sacramentum est simile substancie panis; et si intelligitur proprietas essentialis, non potest convinci in alio pane substancialis proprietas quin hoc sacramentum habet consimilem, ut patet de per se accione et passione; in tantum 15 quod Henricus Gawnt videtur asserere | quod, generato B 90<sup>1</sup> verme de hostia, illa accidencia per se subiectant animam sensitivam. Et Innocencius 3<sup>us</sup>, in tractatu suo de eucharistia, dicit quod, deformata hostia, redit eadem materia prima in numero: quod non foret fingendum, nisi illa 20 materia foret presto continue et per consequens idem panis; Deus enim non destruit substanciam, nisi prius natura vel tempore accidens eius destruxerit; aliter enim non foret causa destruccionis talis substancie, ut repugnat bonitati divine punire hominem, nisi peccatum primum sit 25 in causa. Ad quid igitur destrueret panis substanciam? | A 82<sup>d</sup> Confirmatur ex hoc quod, mutata essencia in aliud, mutatur et nomen substancie: ut homo secundum corpus transformatus vere dicitur esse terra, aut secundum animam, dicitur esse dyabolus: et iuxta sanctos factus 30 est aliud: sic igitur, si illud quod prius fuit accidens panis habet miraculose proprietates substancie, debet vere dici et esse substanciam. Quamvis autem hoc esset maius miraculum, foret tamen superfluum, cum prior panis sufficeret; et consonat quod ille sit in melius, 35 quia in corpus domini recreatus. Sicut igitur ille panis sacramentalis habet proprietates prime substancie, sic

28. et ACD.

18. Innocent III wrote *De Sacro Altaris Mysterio*. I have not been able to identify the quotation, which, if exact, would contradict the whole scheme of Catholic belief. For *if* the *materia prima* returns, as said here, it must have been present somewhere all the time; and instead of transsubstantiation, there is only transformation.



- et nomen. Sed sicut dyabolus docet bonum dici malum et e contra, sic transfert veritatem et nomina signorum in quibus seducit populum. Sic enim apostasia vocatur religio, elemosina dicitur serenitas, et globus istorum cumulat<sup>5</sup> symoniace vocatur mendaciter patrimonium crucifixi. Sic, inquam, oportet quod in isto venerabili sacramento,
- B 91<sup>a</sup> quo Magog tantum abutitur, sunt mendacia cumulata. |
- F. Item si talis quantitas et qualitas per se producerentur et post per se corrumperentur, tunc crearentur et  
 10 adnichilarentur; sed non sic se habent, quando produ-  
 duntur et corrumuntur in substantia; igitur regu-  
 lariter agens creatum posset creare et adnichilare; ar-  
 gumentum est falsigraphis satis possibile; et contraria  
 videtur ex hoc quod tam qualitas quam quantitas cre-  
 15 ditur una res que potest per se existere, ut anima, et  
 A 83<sup>a</sup> evidencius quam materia prima. Si igitur | materia  
 prima non poterit sic produci nisi creacione, evidencius  
 talis forma. Unde falsigraphi dicunt quod materia  
 prima non potest esse informis; quia, cum non potest  
 20 esse aliquid nisi per formam, si per tempus foret in-  
 formis, per idem tempus foret non aliquid. Et minor  
 argumenti videtur de anima et aliis tribus que secun-  
 dum se totas producantur de potencia subiecti; nisi  
 que sunt quodammodo subiectum per transmutacionem  
 25 eius accidentalem; sic quod non dicant essenciam, que  
 poterit per se esse; ut est de respectibus, et, secun-  
 dum Aristotelem, de quibuscunque formis materialibus.  
 Et in ista difficultate laboravit Wymundus; et secte  
 adverse confirmant illud per hoc quod deus prius  
 30 producit hoc accidens quam producit ab agente  
 creato. Ymmo, prius quam recipitur in subiecto, ut  
 patet de prioritate communi, et pro illa priori oportet  
 quod creetur: igitur quelibet talis forma in produc-  
 cione creatur, et per idem in corrupcione adnichilatur;  
 35 et ita dicerent philosophi, si sic sentirent de per se  
 permanencia accidentis et quomodo independeat a  
 subiecto. Sic enim conceperunt philosophi formas ma-  
 teriales educi de potencia materie.
- A 91<sup>b</sup> Item, maior est dependencia accidentis | ad substan-  
 40 ciam quam e contra; sed nulla substantia potest esse  
 sine accidente; igitur evidencius nullum accidens potest

If quantity etc.  
 became by  
 themselves and  
 then no longer  
 so, there would  
 be annihilation.

They are  
 supposed to  
 exist per se:  
 which materia  
 prima cannot do.  
 Now the  
 latter requires  
 creation, and  
 the former too.  
 Therefore they  
 say materia  
 prima can never  
 be without  
 form; for if it  
 were, it would  
 be nothing.  
 They escape by  
 saying that  
 God, not the  
 priest, elicits  
 the creative act.

There is a  
 greater  
 dependency  
 of accident on  
 substance than  
 vice versa;

6. quod deest BCD. 10. non minus CD. 21. non deest CD.  
 25. qua B. 32. illa corr. A. 36. independeant AB. 37. conceperunt C.

but no  
substance can  
be without  
accident; there-  
fore no accident  
without  
substance.

If any creature  
was without  
accidents, this  
would be  
accidental itself.  
Matter is in  
space and time,  
and therefore  
has accidents.  
And immaterial  
beings have  
unity, the  
source of  
quantity.

Substance  
cannot exist  
without some  
quantity and  
quality; so  
neither can the  
latter without  
substance.  
And the gloss  
is wrong to  
distinguish  
between natural  
and  
supernatural  
possibility.  
God does  
nothing  
uselessly;  
now, if so,  
quantity and  
quality cannot  
exist alone.

esse sine substantia que subiectat. Maior est nota fide-  
libus, cum substantia sublunaris dependeat per accidens  
ab influencia celesti et lumine in communi; accidens  
autem sic dependet a subiecto | in quo est, quod sine A 83<sup>b</sup>  
illo non potest esse propter necessarium ordinem cau- 5  
sandi; et minor patet ex hoc quod posita substantia  
ponitur eius relacio ad deum, que evidencius distin-  
guitur ab extremis quam relacio personarum divinarum  
ad intra, quam tamen sancti ponunt distingwi. Similiter G.  
si substantia creata per se sit sine accidente cum posset 10  
esse accidentata, privacio accidentis accidenter sibi in-  
est. Similiter si substantia materialis est, tunc est quanta,  
figurata et alicubi, et per consequens accidentatur. Si  
autem substantia immaterialis est, tunc inest sibi uni-  
tas que est principium quantitatis discrete, et multipli- 15  
cacio per situm accidentaliter sibi inest. Unde Augustinus,  
epistola 40 ad Dardanum: "Spacia locorum tolle cor-  
poribus, et nusquam erunt, nec erunt: tolle ipsa cor-  
pora a qualitatibus, nec erit ubi sunt; et ideo necesse  
est ut non sint. Et si moles ipsa corporis, quanta- 20  
cumque sit, auferatur, penitus auferantur qualitates eius,  
nec erit ubi sint, quamvis non mole meciende sint."  
Ex istis patet quod genus quantitatis et qualitatis non  
possunt a materiali substantia separari: et evidencius  
non potuerunt per se esse. Unde sinistra videtur michi 25  
glosa ponens Augustinum intelligere, quod necesse est  
naturaliter ita esse, quamvis supernaturaliter ut in  
sacramento altaris possit oppositum evenire. Nam in  
eadem epistola tractat de sacramento altaris, et | videtur, B 91<sup>e</sup>  
quod tam subtilis logicus non foret tante immemor 30  
fidei sacramenti.

Item, supponendum est tanquam per se notum fidei  
philosopho, quod natura prima agit compendiosius quo  
ad finem totalem quo potest; sed, eo ipso, nulla quan-  
titas vel qualitas poterit per se esse; igitur hoc est 35  
necessarium. Maior patet ex hoc quod deus, dispendiose  
agens sine innovacione finis vel comodi, ageret de tanto  
superflue: et per hoc principium probant philosophi  
quod oportet mundum esse sphericum, cum inter

1. maior et D.  
ipsa deest BCD.

10. sicut CD; *ib.* possit CD.  
21. auferatur deest omnes MSS.  
38. superfluo BC.

18—20. corpora —  
22. mentiende C.



omnes figuras ysopometras illa sit capacissima. Per hoc  
 etiam probant philosophi, quod oportet angulum in-  
 cidencie esse equalem angulo reflexionis, quia aliter  
 natura non ageret ita compendiose et breviter sicut  
 5 potest; et sic de multis conclusionibus abditis in natura.  
 Et minor argumenti ex hoc evidet, quod posita quan-  
 titate vel qualitate substantie materialis per se vel cum  
 subiecto suo vel extra, suspensa informacione subiecti  
 fixi et quieti, foret substantia materialis quanta et  
 10 qualis per quantificacionem et qualificacionem, que non  
 poterint per se esse; ideo productio illius accidentis  
 H. per se foret omnino superflua. Et confirmatur ex hoc  
 quod materialis essentia non est nisi gracia essencie  
 spiritualis. Sed eque potest vocatum accidens per se  
 15 hec omnia facere, sicut materialis essentia. Igitur super-  
 fluit talem ponere. Accidens enim, quod est sacramen-  
 tum, ut inquit, potest per se quomodocunque moveri:  
 ideo precluditur philosophis omnis via ponendi mate-  
 rialem substantiam. Et quantum ad autores scripture,  
 20 glozari possunt pari auctoritate, quod loquuntur de  
 B 91<sup>4</sup> globo accidencium, sicut scriptura, ut fingunt, | vocant  
 accidencia, que non sunt materialis substantia, panis  
 A 83<sup>4</sup> et vinum. Et talis consideracio | movebat Augustinum  
 tanquam per se notum concedere quod omnia acci-  
 25 dencia sunt res que non potuerunt per se esse. Scribit  
 enim 2<sup>o</sup> Soliloquiorum capitulo 13, "esse aliquid in  
 aliquo non nos fugit dici duobus modis, uno localiter,  
 ut corpus seiungi atque alibi esse possit, ut hoc lig-  
 num, in hoc loco et sol in oriente. Altero autem modo  
 30 ita est aliquid in subiecto ut ab eo nequeat separari;  
 ut in hoc ligno forma et species quam videmus; ut in  
 sole lux, et in igne calor, et in animo disciplina. Et  
 si qua sunt alia, ista," inquit, "vetustissima nobis sunt,  
 et ab ineunte adolescencia studiosissima percepta et  
 35 cognita; quia non possum, interrogatus de hiis, quin  
 ea sine ulla deliberacione concedam, et sequitur illud  
 vero quod interrogasti." Quis concesserit, aut cui posse  
 fieri videatur ut illud quod est in subiecto, maneat  
 ipso intereunte subiecto? Monstruosum quidem et a

It is useless to  
 attribute to a  
 substance  
 quantity and  
 quality that can  
 exist alone,  
 when the other  
 sort, that  
 cannot, acts  
 just as well.

If these  
 accidents do all  
 that the  
 substance does,  
 why not  
 suppose a  
 substance?

Augustine lays  
 down as self-  
 evident that  
 accidents  
 cannot exist by  
 themselves;  
 that things are  
 'in another',  
 either locally  
 or as in a  
 subject on  
 which they  
 depend; except  
 intuitive truths.

Is this the case  
 with absolute  
 accidents?

17. quocunque BCD; *ib.* movere B. 20. loquitur C. 26. aliud D.  
 30. negant C; nequit *corr.* D. 34. studiosissime CD. 37. aut *deest* B.

23. Aug. Sol. I. II, c. 12 (Migne, t. 32, p. 895).

veritate alienissimum, ut illud quod non esset, nisi in ipso esset, etiam cum ipsum non fuerit, possit esse.

Every separable form has a tendency of its own, the want of which argues that qualities are not separable: e. g. the human soul. Also, every possible substance.

Every substance has a tendency to self-conservation, a love of self, and repose in itself; and therefore must have a proper resistance to what harms it.

But a quality acts in a quite different way, nor can it properly be said to act at all.

If a quality had a proper action of its own, it would act without changing its substance, and we should never know anything experimentally.

As for moral qualities, if such could act by themselves, better not to have them.

Item quolibet forma accidentia separabilis, habet appetitum proprium et nata est habere actionem propriam naturalem; sed hoc repugnat quibuslibet qualitatibus convenire; igitur et separabilitas non potest eis competere. Maior patet de anima humana et de quolibet re per se possibili, sicut habet proprium esse, sic habet appetitum proprium ad suum esse, ut patet de tribus rebus quas Augustinus ponit uniri ad modum | trinitatis in quolibet tali essentia. | Habet enim potentiam conservandi et appetendi se ipsam; et secundo, quantum potest se appetere, tantum appetit se naturaliter; et tercio, tantum quietatur naturaliter in se ipsa. Sicut igitur quolibet talis forma activa per se posita resistet suo contrario propter appetitum quem haberet ad esse proprium, ita inseparabiliter habet huius modi appetitum; et patet quod impossibile est ipsam agere nisi agat propriam actionem, cum accio individuatur ab agente. Minor autem argumenti patet multipliciter, primo, quia alia accione agit subiectum et alia sua qualitas; secundo, quia qualitas, cum nata sit per se manere se ipsam, ipsa posset per se exire subiectum localiter et per consequens requiritur ligamentum distinctum ab ipso et subiecto, quo ipsa ad invicem colligentur; sic enim ponuntur unio et continuacio distincta ab extremis. Tercio, quia qualitates non possent communicare acciones suas subiectis, sicut non possunt communicare agencias suas alienis qualitatibus, vel materie prime; et utrobique est tanta ratio vel maior, ratione coactionis vel causacionis; quomodo igitur forent subiecta alterativa? Quarto, videtur quod omnis generacio qualitatis sit inpertinens alteracioni substancie; quia, supposito quod qualitas non informet substanciam, quod non potest esse isti vie, nisi per revelacionem notum vel cognitum, tunc non alteratur subiectum per induccionem qualitatis: et periret omnis motus noticia, omnis experientia et per consequens omnis demonstracio vel consideracio philosophica. Quinto, videtur quod qualitates morales, ut summa liberalitas, semper inclinant ad eque dandum, quomodocunque subiectum fuerit

21. illa corr. A; BCD.

10. Aug. De Trin., l. IX, c. 12 (Migne, t. 42, p. 970, 971).



- B 92<sup>b</sup> passionatum; conclusio, si foret virtus vel | viciū bonum, bonum esset carere, cum eius regimen per rationem requireret magnam solitudinem. Sexto videtur, cum res est eo perfectior in natura quo est perfectius  
 5 accidentata, quod caliditas sit perfectior in natura quam ignis, si aliquis sit talis, quia illa est per se calefactiva; et quomodocunque ignis foret activus per unam rem sibi illinitam, eius accio per accidens ex nuda concomitancia mutuatur. Septimo, videtur quod omne corpus  
 10 elementare foret mixtum ratione naturarum per se possibile commixtarum; nam unumquodque eorum habet propriam raritatem et densitatem ac per se existenciam, sicut haberet ipso de possibili extracto cum eisdem passionibus.
- K. 15 Nec valet quod philosophi aliter locuti sunt de mixture, de varitate, et densitate qualitatum; quia aliter indubie locuti sunt de quidditate earum; ymmo, si sic grosse conceperint de illis accidentibus, posuissent alia  
 sequencia consequenter: ut duo sacramenta calicis, que  
 20 ponuntur accidentia, poterunt comisci ad invicem et varie transmutari; sed hoc est alienum a qualitate; qualitas enim non est nisi substantiam esse qualem. Et per hoc tolluntur omnes instancie predictae; nec  
 25 dubium fidei, quin propter innovationem modi qui non potest per se esse, stat opposita vicissim verificari et  
 A 84<sup>a</sup> subiecta varie trans | mutari, cum sola substantia poterit per se esse. Et ista videtur sententia Augustini in *De quantitate anime*, capitulo 4<sup>o</sup>. "Prorsus," inquit, "non dubito corpora omnia longitudine, latitudine, et  
 30 altitudine carere non posse, sed numquid potest cogitari B 92<sup>a</sup> ista tria esse nisi in corporalibus?" | "Non intelligo," inquit, "quomodo esse alibi possunt." In retractando itaque illum librum et servando istam sententiam confirmavit.
- 35 Item qualitates, ut virtutes et gracie, sunt multis substantiis meliores: quod non posset esse nisi ipse includant formaliter virtuosam substantiam, et dicant eius modum laudabilem. Igitur ille qualitates non possunt  
 esse sine subiecto et per idem nullum aliud accidens.  
 40 Assumptum videtur, eo quod ille qualitates sunt eligi-

Heat, would be hotter than fire: heat heats by itself, while fire borrows its action from heat.

All elements would be compounds; v. g. rarity; density &c., proper to themselves, would be distinct from their subjects. That philosophers have spoken otherwise of the mixture of qualities is no matter. Wine may be mixed in two chalices, but this has nothing to do with quality.

Some qualities are of a higher order than some substances; this could not be, unless their idea included the substance to which they belonged. So quality should not be set apart from substance.

1. que pro conclusio A. 3. solitudinem B. 5. accidentia omnes MSS.  
 20. potuerunt CD. 22. aliud nisi B.

biliores datis substanciis: ut patet de diviciis; ymo videtur quod nemo excideret a caritate pro toto mundo salvando, quod de natura eligibilis virtus illa sit homini optacior et sic melior toto mundo; quod non potest salvari, si fuerit res per se possibilis. Nam domus plena talibus qualitatibus per se positis, non valet obolum, et cum impossibile sit esse secundum et accidentale rei excedere esse suum primum et essenciale, a quo dependet illud esse secundum, manifestum est quod tales virtutes non habent esse primum separabile a subiecto. Et idem est argumentum de viciis quorum informacionem nemo reciperet pro deo vel quoquam possibili. Nam, ut sic, homo peccaret et per consequens faceret aliter quam deberet. Ex quo | logici inferunt quod vici- A 84<sup>d</sup>  
cium sit infinitum malum, cum eius informacio sibi 15 L.  
accidentalis sit tam mala; dyabolus enim non est peior peccato suo, licet alio modo fuerit malus, quia tunc foret homo abieccior virtute sua; et loquor abstractive de virtutibus ut sunt qualitates, non ut sunt deus. Virtus enim foret confirmata, ut angelus. 20

Nec est color fingere, quod aliquae qualitates, | sed B 92<sup>d</sup>  
non virtutes aut vicia, poterunt per se esse; quia ille ex condicione dignitatis possent potissime per se esse. Ymo, qualitates materiales forent perfecciores substancia, cum omnem alteracionem et actum substancie 25  
possent per se facere, substancie autem non nisi ex accommodatione earum; ut caliditas per se ignire posset quotlibet combustibilia. Deus igitur dando sibi talem virtutem daret sibi proporcionabilem perfeccionem; nec est ratio quare deus potest colligere quantitates et alia 30  
accidencia corporalia, sic quod sint secundum se tota ad omnem punctum hostie, quin per idem posset extendere virtutes et vicia, cum par sit utrobique distancia. In tales blasfemias evanuerunt cultores signorum, ponentes quod mors per se moveatur per patrias, et ex 35  
adverso veniant omnia genera morborum que mortem crucient et occidant, et videntur sonare ad hoc dicta prophete: *O mors ero mors tua*; sed error consistit in deteccione predicacionis formalis et predicacionis secundum subiectum, quomodo Augustinus super illo 40

Charity is better than the whole world; but a houseful of virtues, set apart from their subjects, would be worth nothing at all.

The same argument also applies to vices.

Vice is infinitely evil, since its accidental presence as a form is so great an evil: not even the devil is worse than his sin.

It is false that virtues and vices cannot exist by themselves, while material qualities can; for if so, the latter would be more perfect than the former.

Where the error lies: in an abstract predication of the form,

11. est *deest* B. 26. non *deest* omnes MSS. 28. combustalia B.  
34, 35. possibilitates B; corr. A. 35. moneatur D; ib. primas B.  
37. dicta *deest* B.

40. Aug. Enarr. in Ps. LXVIII (Migne, t. 36, p. 814).



- A 85<sup>a</sup> psalmo LXVIII. "Non est substantia |," dicit quod omnis creatura est substantia. Et sic indubie accidencia que mendaces ponunt esse sine subiecto sunt de facto panis et vinum. Sed consideracio illarum naturarum est sopita  
 5 propter excellencio rem substantiam; sicut sensacio carbonis extinguitur propter ignis dominium, ut docet Damascenus. Accidencia autem sicut non habent aliud esse quam inesse, sic non habent aliam perfeccionem quam informare. Sed secundum rationem qua acci-  
 10 dencia, ut quantitates aut accidencia huiusmodi speciei,  
 B 93<sup>a</sup> sunt sic | perfecta; ut quantitas dimensionalis, quia consequitur materiam primam, est minime perfecta; ideo maxime elongatur ab esse sacramenti et post illa qualitates alie corporales.
- M. 15 Item, ut tactum est, posito accidente sine subiecto, quod sit sacramentum altaris, oportet ponere vacuum; consequens impossibile: igitur antecedens. Si enim situs sacramenti sit vacuus, tunc per idem extra mundum foret vacuum infinitum; quia aliter, ut inquit, deus  
 20 non posset movere mundum versus oriens quantumcunque velociter, nec posset creare mundum alium extra istum, nec extendere aliquod corpus positum in mundi confinio extra ipsum: que omnia, ut inquit, derogant divine potencie. Sicut igitur deus potest, servatis parie-  
 25 tibus domus, anichilare totum aerem interceptum, non subinducto novo corpore, sic potest de situ hostie: et sic facit, cum corpus Christi non supplet plenum, nec accidens per se excludit vacuum; quia, ut tactum est, oportet (si vacuum est) quod in ipso sint qualitates et  
 30 quantitates.
- Quod autem hoc sit impossibile, videtur multis  
 A 85<sup>b</sup> do | ctoribus: quia tunc foret vacuum infinitum, deo coeternum, nec creator nec creatura, sed omnino superfluum, cum ablato de illo infinities infinito, residuum  
 35 sufficeret ad omne eius officium. Nec subiacet divine potencie replere illud corpore, ipsum destruere vel movere; sed foret de illo mundus coeternus deo infinitum sensibili mundo perfeccior, quia prior in natura, cuius destruccio tolleret deum nostrum. Igitur infinitum  
 B 93<sup>b</sup> bonum foret illud cuius infinitum mala foret pri | vacio. Si igitur pedale illius foret aliquantum bonum, totum foret infinitum bonum, cum deus non posset sine ipso

confounded with the concrete predication of the subject. Augustine says, every thing created is substance, then so are these accidents. The perfection of accidents is the 'being-in-a-subject'. Quantity, following the *materia prima*, is the lowest is of all.

Who posits absolute accidents asserts a vacuum; this is absurd: so is that. If the place where the Sacrament is be void of all substance, then there must also be an infinite void.

Neither Christ's body nor the accidents fill it.

Now this is impossible. I. It would be infinite, but neither uncreated nor created. II. God could neither fill, move, nor destroy it. III. As necessary as God, it would be infinitely good.

IV. Two Gods; quicquam facere; ipsum igitur foret deus malus. Multa  
 contrary to  
 faith; limiting  
 God's power.  
 sunt talia, ex quibus videtur domino Ardmachano quod  
 repugnat fidei ecclesie esse vacuum, ut patet in tractatu  
 suo *de pauperie salvatoris*. Non enim consonat divine  
 potencie quod ipse non possit creare mundum sine hoc 5  
 vacuo sibi coeterno, vel quod non posset destruere hoc  
 accidens sine aliquo in ipso vacuo noviter introducto,  
 sicut fingitur prius destruxisse substantiam; vel quod  
 non posset movere vacuum istud localiter, quo posito  
 posset movere aliud vacuum coextensum post ipsum; 10  
 et sic infinitum.

A void should  
 be admitted  
 only for some  
 good reason;  
 but there is  
 none.  
 Item, si gemme vacuorum foraminum ponuntur in N.  
 ecclesia ratione hostie consecrate, aliqua est ratio  
 earum apud deum et aliqua utilitas ecclesie; sed neutrum  
 istorum est fingendum: | igitur nec antecedens hoc in- A 85<sup>e</sup>

It amounts to  
 the annihilation  
 of the world;  
 if God can  
 annihilate  
 bread, He can  
 annihilate the  
 world.  
 ferens. Quo ad deum, videtur quod implicat in eo in-  
 providenciam, quod creet mundum plenum materiali  
 essentia, et det sibi incorruptibilitatem, et tunc anichi-  
 let sine causa; anichilet, dico, quia post consecra-  
 tionem nusquam est secundum aliquam sui partem; 20  
 nam non fit pars corporis Christi, ut inquirunt, nec est  
 in situ hostie, nec alibi; nec potius convertitur in cor-  
 pus Christi quam unum penitus anichilatum preter sua  
 accidentia converteretur in substantiam succedentem.

They  
 themselves  
 admit that the  
 body of Christ  
 comes only  
 when the bread  
 is annihilated.  
 Et confirmatur ex principiis adversariorum, qui ponunt 25  
 deum posse anichilare vel destruere corpus panis, cum  
 hoc quod sub illis accidentibus succedat corpus Christi  
 sacramentaliter; | et per consequens prius naturaliter B 93<sup>e</sup>  
 est ipsa anichilacio panis sive destructio, antequam sit  
 illa ficta conversio. Si enim panis erit corpus Christi, 30

Nothing  
 remains of the  
 bread, not even  
 the *materia*  
*prima*.  
 ut dicit beatus Ambrosius, vel si remanet eadem com-  
 munis materialis essentia, ut fuit de conversione  
 uxoris Loth in statuam, ut patet de exemplis per que  
 probat Ambrosius possibilitatem conversionis panis in  
 corpus Christi, tunc non destrueretur alia materialis 35  
 essentia; sed Gog tollit omnem efficaciam et pertinen-  
 ciam argumentorum beati Ambrosii, et statuit sibi unam  
 transsubstanciacionem quam etiam Magog fatetur se  
 non posse intelligere; quomodo igitur informaret sim-  
 plices in hac fide? Et quo ad utilitatem ecclesie, certum 40  
 videtur quod hec foramina vacua nichil prosunt, cum  
 foret deo conveniencius et ecclesie | utilius accipere A 85<sup>d</sup>

There comes  
 an unexampled  
 and  
 incomprehen-  
 sible change.  
 If God can  
 make bread to  
 be His Body,  
 without  
 destroying it,  
 the vacuum is  
 a useless  
 fiction.  
 10. movere *deest* B. 13. alia BCD; *corr.* A. 15. ut B; *corr.* A.  
 32. fuit *deest* B.



pabulum spirituale de situ repleto substantia; sed videtur istam ficticiam figurare boum carenciam, quia Prov. XIV dicitur: "Ubi non sunt boves, presepe vacuum est." Constat autem secundum apostolum 1<sup>a</sup> Cor. IX:

IX, 9 5 "boves triturantes" sunt mystice dei adiutores ecclesiam edificantes; ideo, si foramen hostie sit vacuum, indubie desunt boves. Si enim deus potest facere panem esse corpus suum, ut dicunt sancti, ad quid essenciam materialem destrueret? Nec dubium quin deus hoc potest, ut patet in exemplis sanctorum.

O. Et iterum manifestum est quod mundus iste dependet a quacunque materiali essencia; ita quod illud nephandum sophisma excludatur, "dependet a materia, sed a nulla materia dependet." Nam est ordo essentialis et prioritas naturalis causacionis inter totam materiam mundi | et ipsum, quia aliter nulla materia foret causa sui materiati; et per consequens est dare materiam distingwentem illam causacionem; sic enim est dare materiam hominis, domus et similium, a qua dependent.

Item, si ista materia posset secundum se totam partibiliter anichilari, cum hoc quod maneat iste mundus: per idem sic foret de forma, et per consequens deus non posset creare mundum alium; quia ad unitatem dei, posito mundo, staret idem mundus in numero.

Item, iuxta istam insaniam, melius foret quod tota materia mundi, forma et accidens, converterentur in partes Christi et sua accidentia, quam quod maneret sic dispersa; igitur nec a materia nec a forma dependet iste mundus. | Sicut enim dependet a specie materie vel forme, sic dependet a specie multiplicitalis accidentis, et sic posset Christus et quelibet eius pars quantitativa esse iste mundus; et sic nedum quelibet pars quantitativa Christi vel mundi superfluerit, sed anima Christi posset converti in animam mundi et quilibet ydemptificari cuilibet. Nam assimilata tota materiali substantia mundi corpori Christi, sine hoc quod ipsum plurificetur vel maioretur, dicunt quod nulla materialis substantia anichilatur sive destruitur, sed potius recreatur in melius, licet desinat esse; quod non haberet colorem nisi remaneret idem mundus; et cum ille non posset fingi nisi corpus Christi, sequitur quod corpus Christi possit esse

This world depends on every part of its material essence, and therefore the annihilation of any part would prove the destruction of the whole.

If each material part of the world could thus be annihilated, so could each formal part; and God could not make another world. Thus the world might be independent both of matter and of form, and become Christ's body by annihilation.

The soul of Christ would become the soul of the world, and all would be confused. But as nothing is absolutely annihilated, but only changed for the better, this would require that the world remained world as it was; and Christ's body was changed into it.

14. a deest CD. 22. tunc D. 27. ac D. 34. superfluit CD.

iste mundus et econtrario; et per idem omnis materialis  
 substancia posset esse quelibet, quia da quod lapis non  
 potest esse lignum. Contra, transsubstanciato lapide in  
 lignum aut qualibet tali substancia in quamlibet, tran-  
 substanciatur non propter hoc destruitur, sed ut sancti 5  
 locuntur fit et est substancia in quam fit transsubstan-  
 ciatio. Non | enim est aliqua pars eius, et si corrum- B 94<sup>a</sup>  
 pitur ad corrupcionem sue materie, per idem mundus  
 corrumperetur ad transsubstanciacionem cuiuscunque  
 hostie consecrate. Et sic si desinit; quia aliter posset 10  
 quelibet pars corporis desinere, ipso remanente salvo;  
 ut, posito quod celum totum transsubstancietur in  
 spheram corruptibilium et ipsa in spheram terre, que  
 eciam transsubstancietur in centrum; et fiat proporcio-  
 nabiliter transaccidentacio: Et videtur quod unum punc- 15  
 tale remanet, tam substancialiter quam accidentaliter,  
 sicut fuit in principio, magnus | mundus. A 86<sup>b</sup>

Details of  
 absurdities that  
 this would  
 necessarily  
 imply.

These errors  
 come from  
 pride: men  
 exalt  
 themselves,  
 thinking that  
 God could  
 empower them  
 to change a  
 Saint in  
 Heaven into a  
 stone.  
 For if He gave  
 them power to  
 make  
 'blessedness'  
 inform a stone,  
 they could do  
 it, or God  
 would not be  
 Almighty!

According to  
 them, material  
 qualities can be  
 multiplied and  
 extended to  
 other subjects:  
 why then  
 should not  
 virtues and  
 blessedness  
 have the same  
 properties?

In tales errores philosophie incidunt heretici contra P.  
 Christum, quia extollunt se ut dictum est in materia de  
 multiplicacione supra deum. Fingunt enim quod possunt 20  
 facere lapides et quantumcunque abiectas substancias;  
 ymmo ipsum accidens, corrumpendo quemcunque sanc-  
 tum in celo: ut, posito quod deus concedat illis pote-  
 statem faciendi beatitudinem et alia accidentia in beatis  
 spiritibus, informare lapides aut quantumcunque abiectas 25  
 substancias, vel esse, destructa quacunque creatura beata.  
 Nam, ut inquirunt, nisi deus posset dare illis talem  
 potestatem, deus non esset omnipotens. Sicut igitur  
 deus dat potestatem presbytero ut, virtute verborum  
 suorum, faciat omnem partem panis desinere, et omnia 30  
 accidentia que prius fuerunt in pane sine subiecto re-  
 manere, sic potest sacerdos habere a deo potenciam,  
 ut virtute verborum dei transsubstanciet quemcunque  
 beatum in lapidem, et facere qualitates que sunt in  
 sancto informare illum lapidem; nam tam quantitas 35  
 quam qualitas extensa potest multiplicari, ut inquirunt;  
 quare igitur, cum | tanta sit utrobique distancia non B 94<sup>b</sup>  
 possit accidens multiplicatum extendi, et iterum unio Q.  
 forme cum materia, proporcioniones suarum parcium et  
 numerus earum cum quotlibet similibus, multiplicatur 40  
 in lapide; quare igitur non possent virtutes et beatitu-

7. alia BD; corr. A. 9. corruperetur AB. 13. speram omnes MSS.  
 17. dominus D. 19. quod BCD. 21. quamcunque AC. 29. ut deest B.  
 32. potestatem B. 39. proporcionis B.



dines? Hoc enim foret minus quam illos esse per se: quod, ut inquit, fieri potest, cum qualitates materia-  
 A 86<sup>les</sup> | minus perfecte et plus dependentes a materia ita  
 possunt, ut fingitur; ille igitur qui posset dare illis ac-  
 5 cidentibus potenciam per se esse, posset habilitare  
 subiectum ut supportet ipsa, et ut inclinent ad moven-  
 dum ipsum subiectum atque communicent subiecto ac-  
 ciones suas; cum aggregatum agit communiter accionem  
 cuiuslibet partis sue. Et iterum, accidencia multa  
 10 mediate dominant et informant secundum istam sectam.  
 Quid igitur sciunt, utrum blasphemant, negando deum  
 posse facere ista informare quamcunque materialem  
 substanciam? Sed fingunt se non blasphemare de deo,  
 menciendo quod alia eque incredibilia potest facere:  
 15 ut, quod quantitas aut qualitas infinita, secundum  
 partem informet quodcunque subiectum; et quod omne  
 genus respectus sit sine subiecto, sicut fingitur de  
 transsubstanciacione, cuius termini queruntur, sed subiec-  
 tum destruitur. Sic, inquam, generacio hec querit luc-  
 20 rum et admittit perdicionem subiecti.

This would be less difficult to conceive than that material qualities should exist without matter.

Is it not blasphemy to deny God's power in this, if He can make infinite quantity exist partially in every subject, or relations obtain without anything being related?

Ultimo arguitur pro parte nostra quod nedum philo-  
 sopheri sed omnes sancti de millenario Christi tacuerunt  
 accidens esse sine subiecto vel sacramentum esse acci-  
 dens; unde igitur oriretur tam scandalosum mendacium?  
 25 Et confirmacio istius est, quod loquentes nostri sine  
 ratione vel autoritate sunt contrarii sibi ipsis: quod  
 B 94<sup>e</sup> evidenter docet istam ficticiam processisse a | patre  
 mendacii, quia subtiliores et quo ad illuminacionem  
 fidei clariores cicius novissent istum fidei articulum,  
 A 86<sup>d</sup> quam posteriores illusibiles | in penam peccati quod  
 in signis perpetrant.

The partisans of this error contradict themselves and each other.

R. Nec dubium, quin in minori fide de dotacione de-  
 testanda, de symonia destruenda cum similibus diucius  
 erravit ecclesia nostra occidua; quod non capies penes  
 35 nostrum arbitrium sed penes fundacionis et rationis  
 carenciam et penes testimonium Augustini contrarium  
 et penes militacionem contrarie rationis. Omnes enim  
 adversarii nesciunt fundare in scriptura, in ratione, in  
 testimonio sanctorum vel legum papalium, quod sacra-  
 40 mentum altaris sit accidens; sed, accumulantes menda-  
 cium mendacio, concludunt ex isto consequi, quod

The Church has certainly long been in error on many points, if Augustine and the evidence of reason are to be trusted. And if the adversaries were right, it would prove that the early Church was wrong.

14. possunt B.  
 20. dimittit ABC.

15. aut qualitas deest D.  
 29. cariores omnes MSS.

19. generacione B.

nimis diu ecclesia stetit in errore: quo concesso, rimandum eis esset, quomodo et quando fuit error iste in ecclesiam introductus; et, si non fallor, quando fratres tacendo et loquendo docmatisant quod expedicius foret ecclesie sic dotari, quam vivere pauperem 5 vitam expropriariam quam Christus instituit; ipsi enim verbis, omissionibus, procuracionibus, et apostatacionibus aspirando ad altitudinem status proprietarii mundani, dicunt in facto, licet sibi ipsis contrarie, quod perfecticius et religiosius eis foret in dotacionibus temporalium 10 habundare. Unde in altis edificacionibus et sue secte appropriacionibus, dicunt in facto istam irreligiosam versuciam, ita quod hec heresis alludit ut finis omni errori. Non enim legi de heresi Christiani, quin apparen-  
 ter fundat se super scriptura | sacra. Hec autem A 87\* heresis tanquam alter deus non petit fundacionem | A B 94\* deo bono, et patet fidelibus notorietas heresis; nam omnis veritas, et precipue articuli fidei catholice, est in scriptura. Sed ista sententia de quidditate sacramenti non est in scriptura: igitur conclusio. Maior patet per 20 beatum Augustinum, secundo "*De doctrina Christiana*", S. in fine; et confirmatur per hoc quod aliter inponeret deo, cuius perfecta sunt opera, blasphemiam quod ipse incomplete celavit fidem quam voluit suos sub pena dampnacionis credere. Unde adversarii, ad evacuandum 25 istam blasphemiam, dicunt quod utrobique scriptura intelligit per panem sacramentalem accidens sine subiecto, et sic heretice accumulunt heresim super heresim. Nam, ut ipsi arguunt, per istos ducentos annos perseveravit ista sententia in magnis doctoribus, igitur vera; sic 30 evidencius arguitur: per mille annos et amplius perseveravit nostra sententia in maioribus doctoribus quando Christus plus illuminavit suam ecclesiam, igitur vera. Nusquam enim invenitur sanctos sic exponere sacram scripturam ad sensum contrarium. Et evidencia est, quod 35 non habent sensum suum ex deo, eo quod non sunt unicordes, ut unus exponit nomen panis per unum genus accidentis et alius per aliud; tercius autem monstruosius, per agregacionem accidentis; et iste hereses non fun-

The Friars, at least by their acts, assert that it is better for the Church to have possessions.

This heresy, contrary to the ordinary run, takes no trouble to quote Scripture for itself;

v. g. as to the present question.

Yet all things of faith are in Scripture; if God acts unjustly when He wills them to be believed under pain of damnation.

They reply: this opinion, held for 200 years, is true; we retort: the other was held for 1000 years. Never before was Scripture understood thus.

3. quod CD. 7. et apostatacionibus *deest* AB. 12. religiosam BCD. 21. secundo *deest* BCD. 38. aliud CD.

24. *Celavit* is obviously a mistake; but *revelavit* is too far from the form. Perhaps we should read *complete celavit*.



dantur, sed antichristus primo tollit certitudinem scripture, et secundo retorquet sibi scolam Christi quod  
 A 87<sup>b</sup> debet sibi omnibus credi. Quantum | ad sensum dicit,  
 quod in hoc non debet credi sensui de ista substantia  
 5 materiali, cum deus ordinat ista accidentia signare  
 hominibus false et erronee. Nec valet certitudo rationis  
 naturalis, cum nemo scit, si aliquid informat substan-  
 B 95<sup>a</sup> ciam; | cum, ut inquiunt, contingentissimum sit quod  
 informacio suspendatur, quod tota substantia destruat  
 10 et quod a mundi principio illud quod ponitur naturale  
 fuit vel falsum vel supernaturale, et id quod ponitur  
 iam supernaturale fuit ex ordinacione divina factum,  
 secundum communem cursum nature. Nam sic potuit  
 esse, ut inquiunt; nec est ratio quin sic fuit. Et sic  
 15 corrumpunt cursum ecclesie, que ante introduccionem  
 istius erroris orat in 2<sup>a</sup> missa natalis domini in secreto,  
 quod "hec oblatio" quam vocat terrenam substantiam,  
 "nobis conferat quod divinum est".  
 T. Caveamus igitur ab istis fallaciis Antichristi; papa  
 20 dicit fideliter quod panis et vinum transsubstantiantur  
 in corpus Christi et sanguinem, igitur sacramentum  
 altaris est accidens sine subiecto. Si papa dicit erranter  
 quod aliqua accidentia sunt sine subiecto, tunc fidelis  
 debet credere quod sacramentum sit accidens sine  
 25 subiecto. Si doctores diu continuant in isto errore,  
 igitur semper ulterius debet credi. Quidam enim grosse  
 concipiunt accidentia corpora subtilia; ut pictores et  
 tintores vocant colores corpora, quibus alia corpora  
 sunt linita. Quidam autem subtilius intelligunt subiectum  
 30 deesse illis qualitatibus sensibilibus sacramenti quan-  
 A 87<sup>b</sup> tum ad actuale con | sideracionem quidditatis et  
 nature sui subiecti. Sed supponendo generalem distinc-  
 tionem novem generum accidentis, patet quod alienum  
 est quod sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto. Tota  
 35 itaque multitudo subterfugiorum ponencium sacramentum  
 altaris esse unum fantasma incognitum, stat in isto: vel  
 quia equivocant, vel loquuntur de accidentibus et sub-  
 B 95<sup>b</sup> stantiis materialibus, non secundum suas | naturas, ut  
 sapientes diffinierunt, sed transferunt nomina ad sensum  
 40 equivocum; sicut sophiste contendunt, quod homo potest  
 esse felicitas, fides, spes, et caritas et per idem quid-

They forbid us to believe in the evidence of our senses, so that we do not know if what we call natural is not either a false seeming or a supernatural appearance.

Fallacies of Antichrist: "the Pope asserts transsubstantiation; therefore absolute accidents are true". "He makes a mistake; therefore we are to follow him". Differences of ideas as to accidents; some speaking as if they were thinly corporal; others as the substance, considered thus and thus.

All these subterfuges, making of the Sacrament a fantastic appearance, are resolved into mere equivocations.

Just as sophists contend that a man is his abstract qualities;

2. tercio D. 7. sed pro si B. 11. 12. et id — fuit deest B.  
 10. erat D. 23. alia B; corr. A. 26. ideo B. 33. accidentis deest A.  
 34. est B.

so they say  
that the  
sacrament is  
roundness,  
whiteness, &c.  
But they ought  
to be punished  
for deluding  
the Church, by  
a denial of alms  
until they have  
said what the  
Sacrament is.

And as they  
disagree on  
many heads,  
they should set  
down in writing  
what their sect  
believes: for  
whichever  
opinion is  
wrong,  
blasphemes.

libet nominandum et pari ratione quidlibet potest esse  
quidlibet. Sed scola intendit de sacramento sensibili  
corporis Christi, quod sacerdos in missa consecrat, vir-  
tute verborum Christi, postquam ipsum tanquam hostiam  
consecrandam antea offerebat. Ipsum autem est illud 5  
album et rotundum intinctum quod fidelis corporaliter  
manducat et terit dentibus et quod ecclesia dicit ante  
consecrationem fuisse verum panem, factum sacramen-  
taliter corpus Christi. Cum igitur in isto ecclesie fide-  
lium tantum illuditur, videtur iuri consonum quod 10  
seculares non dent fratribus vel alicui presbitero ele-  
mosinam corporalem antequam ipsi plene docuerint,  
quid sit illud venerabile sacramentum. Illam enim  
cathechizacionem de sacramento altaris, tenetur pres-  
biter seculari impendere, ut innuitur 1<sup>a</sup> Cor. IX<sup>o</sup>; ideo 1. Cor.  
petenti elemosinam a layco, debet dici con- IX, 14  
stanter A 87<sup>a</sup>  
quod nichil habebit ab ipso, antequam detexerit sibi  
fidem catholicam in hac parte. Et cum multe secte in  
isto variant, exigatur a fratre quod in scriptis certificet  
illam esse communem sententiam secte sue. Illud enim 20  
foret seculari necessarius quam littere fraternales; po-  
tissime cum aliis orthodoxis propter antiquam fidei  
sententiam imponunt heresim; et quecunque pars fuerit  
in hoc falsa, seminat de Christo blasfeme mendacia,  
et indigna est vivere de bonis ecclesie, quia in fide 25  
per cautelas dyaboli seducit populum. Non igitur com-  
municari debet cum talibus antequam in isto detexerint  
rectam | fidem; nam vel laborant invidia, perfidia vel B 95<sup>a</sup>  
ignorancia et undique prudenter examinati, accusabunt  
se ipsos tanquam in fide contrarios.

11. debent B. 15. innuit CD. 19. certificet C.



## CAPITULUM DUODECIMUM.

Restat ulterius videre, quomodo in materia de quiditate hostie Antichristi discipuli sunt divisi. Ponunt enim aliqui, ut sepe repecii, quod sacramentum altaris sit quantitas; et cum sex sunt genera quantitatis, sacramentum ponitur corporeitas, crassitudo vel altitudo que condam fuit in pane. Et ista opinio ascribitur sancto Thome super 4<sup>o</sup> distincione 12. Racio autem ad hoc ponendum est talis: Impossibile est qualitatem  
 10 materialem (cum consequitur formam) esse, nisi fundetur in quantitate consequente materiam; sed sacramentum hostie est accidens; igitur est primum et fundamentale  
 A 88<sup>a</sup> accidens im | mediatum substantie: quod secundum philosophos est quantitas. Item, sacramentum istud est  
 15 coloratum et diversimode qualificatum, sed hec non potest competere qualitati; ideo oportet quod ipsum sacramentum sit quantitas, que subiectet huiusmodi qualitates; cum secundum philosophos albedo est primo in superficie. Et per idem qualitates corporee in pro-  
 20 funditate. Item, sacramentum istud est vere continuum et alterabile, quod non potest competere qualitati; ideo relinquitur quod sit quantitas. Qualitas enim non est quanta vel continua nisi per quantitatem, cum substantia non possit esse huiusmodi; multo magis qualitas  
 25 non est per se magna sive continua. Multa sunt talia argumenta, que inevitabiliter concludunt quod si ipsum sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto, ipsum est quantitas.  
 B. Sed primo improbatur hec triplex evidenciam; patet  
 B 95<sup>a</sup> autem quod prima | consequencia non valet, cum totum  
 30 antecedens sit verum et consequens impossibile. Nam qualitas, licet sit fundamentum religionis, non sibi

Divisions of the Sects: some say that the Sacrament is quantity: volume, thickness or depth.

Why?  
 1<sup>st</sup> Because quality, based on form, could not exist unless by quantity, based on matter.

2<sup>nd</sup> Quality cannot have qualities as the Sacrament has; therefore they are based upon quantity.

3<sup>rd</sup> The Sacrament is extended, and quality is not extended by itself, only by quantity.

I. Answers: neither quality nor quantity can exist without a subject to sustain them.

4. aliquid AB. 26. ipsum ipsum C. 31. quantitas CD; *ib.* et non omnes MSS.

8. St. Th. Aq. *In lib. Sent.* 1, IV, dist. XII, art. 1. *Et ideo dicendum est.* 31. *Religionis* is in all the MSS.; but I fail to understand what it has to do here.

Quality is not  
its own subject,  
but the  
substance  
which has the  
quality.

II. The thing  
supposed is  
impossible:  
viz. that such  
accidents can  
exist.

For even  
inseparable  
accidents are  
not  
conceivable  
without their  
subjects; much  
less size, which  
is separable.

For *separable*  
does not mean  
separate  
existence; only  
what the  
substance can  
lose, v. g.  
movement.

III. True,  
the Sacrament  
is extended; but  
it follows that  
it has the nature  
of bread, not  
only its  
quantity.

subicitur, sed substantia que illi qualitati subicitur; sic  
quantitas, quia inseparabiliter consequitur ad materiam  
primam, que requiritur fundamentaliter ad formam sub-  
stancialem, quam qualitas ipsa consequitur: ideo quan-  
titas requiritur, ut fundamentum huiusmodi qualitati, 5  
sed neutra illarum potest esse sine substantia subie-  
tante. Quantum ad secundum argumentum, patet quod  
peccat in materia et in forma; supponit enim hoc im-  
possibile, quod sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto;  
albedo enim est primo in superficie ut in fundamento, 10  
non in subiecto: quia substantia superficialis sub | iectat A 88<sup>b</sup>  
utrumque. Unde videtur quod puderet istos allegare  
pro parte ista philosophos, cum ipsi vere dicant con-  
corditer quod accidens non potest esse vel intelligi sine  
subiecto; ut patet VII<sup>o</sup> Methaphisice. Nam accidentia 15  
inseparabilia, ut simitas et risibilitas, non possunt intel-  
ligi sine suo subiecto; igitur multo magis accidentia  
minoris existencie et tante dependencie ad subiectum.  
Quamvis enim motus et alii respectus sint accidentia  
separabilia, nullus tamen tam stulte intelligit quod illa 20  
accidentia poterunt per se esse et separari a subiecto:  
sed subiectum potest esse sine illis; et sic genus ac-  
cidentis talis posset separari a substantia per carenciam  
inherencie sui individui. Omnes igitur qualitates cor-  
poree fundantur in corporeitate et tam illam quam 25  
qualitatem oportet fundari in substantia subiectante.

Quantum ad tercium patet quod verum assumitur, C.  
sed inpertinenter falsum concluditur. Est enim sacra-  
mentum istud secundum terrenam substantiam vel na-  
turam panis qui de terre fructibus quo pascitur homo 30  
corporaliter, sicut primo inter sacramenta pascitur | B 96<sup>a</sup>  
eukaristia sacramentaliter et primo potatur vino sacra-  
mentaliter; et sic pastus ille sacramentalis in digne  
recipientibus est partim corporalis et partim spiritualis.  
In omnibus autem istis frons meretricis assumitur in- 35  
pudenter ab impudicis hereticis, et nunc negant more  
diaboli veritatem et nunc cespitant super veritate supini.

1. sit *pro* sic omnes MSS. 10, 11. albedo — subiecto *deest* BCD.  
16. et *deest* CD. 19. sicut *pro* sint CD. 20, 21. nullus — accidentia  
*deest* BCD. 21. potuerunt D. 23. separari C. 28. subiectum BCD; *corr.* A.  
30. que BCD. 31. spiritualiter *pro* corporaliter BCD. 31, 32. sicut —  
sacramentaliter *deest* BCD. 32, 33. corporaliter *pro* sacramentaliter BCD.  
33. et *deest* B. 36, 37. et — veritatem *deest* CD. 37. ut omnes MSS.

16. Arist. ed. F. Didot, vol. II, p. 542 (c. V). 16. *Simitas*  
(to be snub-nosed) and *risibilitas* are frequent examples of in-  
separable qualities, taken from Aristotle.



Vident enim ad oculum quod sacramentum est sensible, et unum continuum, ac per se mobile; ideo cum predicamenta sint distincta, negato quod sit qualitas vel respectus, concludunt quod sit quantitas; quia blas-

B 88<sup>e</sup> feme statuunt, quod deus non accepit substantiam | ut sit sacramentaliter corpus suum, sed accidens a deo alienissimum; cum materia prima non sit sub gradu accidentis. Et sic a perfeccione vel condicione Christi maxime elongantur. Unde tripliciter arguitur quod

10 ipsum sacramentum non sit quantitas supradicta: primo, quia nulla talis quantitas est activa; ipsum sacramentum est activum: igitur ipsum sacramentum non est talis quantitas. Maior patet: primo, ex hoc quod materia prima que est subiectum primum illius quantitatis, non est activa;

15 igitur nec ipsa quantitas. Patet consequentia ex hoc, quod agente accidente subiecti, oportet ipsum subiectum prius agere. Secundo, quia quantitas non informatur subiective, sed fundamentaliter aliqua qualitate; sed hoc non sufficit ad denominandum ipsam agere; quia sic foret

20 eque multipliciter et prius activa, sicut aliqua materialis substantia, quia nulla materialis substantia nisi mediante ipsa quantitate foret activa: quod non conceditur communiter, cum quantitas non sit sapida calida vel sonora. Tercio, quia, rarefacto subiecto per totum,

25 continue innovatur quantitas secundum se totam; et per consequens nulla una agit continue, licet subiectum

B 96<sup>b</sup> egerit mediante qualitate. Et | confirmatur ex hoc quod

D. si quantitas sic egerit, qualiscunque quantitas conformis figure sic ageret, et per consequens quecunque sub-

30 stantia conformiter figurata; ideo cum consequens sit impossibile, patet quod oportet scrutari aliud principium accionis. Et hec ratio quare Averois dicit, super

4<sup>to</sup> phisicorum, quod quantitas non est de genere activorum. Et patet sicut urina, dieta et substantia | dicun-

A 88<sup>d</sup> tur equivoce sana, sic subiectum et quantitas dicuntur equivoce colorata: quantitas, quia est fundamentum coloris, et subiectum quia principiat subiective colorem mediante sua forma substanciali, que ipsam dirigit ad

Reasons against this theory.

a) Quantity cannot be active, as the Sacrament is, for its subject, primordial matter, is inactive.

An accident cannot act without its subject.

Quantity has no form, but by qualities; and a quality is not active by itself.

When there is rarefaction, quantity is renewed completely, and therefore in this case cannot act.

Qualities are not univocally ascribed to quantity and to substance. The former is only the basis e. g. of visible qualities or colours.

3. notato B; corr. A. 6. sit B. 11. quod BCD. 12. non est acciden- BCD. 13. in natura BCD. 15. nec est D. 18. alia quantitate B. 20. alia C. 28. sic — qualiscunque deest D.

32. Averr. Comm. in Arist. (*Ven. ap. Junctas, 1562*) l. IV. *Physic. De Vacuo*, c. III, fol. 154 M. "Dimensiones enim, quando abstrahuntur a materia, non habebunt potentiam."

agendum. Quia autem quantitas est basis trianguli visibilis, et non sic de aliis qualitatibus, ideo ponitur potius fundamentum coloris quam aliarum qualitatium.

That the Sacrament is active can be proved by the visibility and changeableness of both the elements.

We must be ready to deny our senses, or admit this.

b) No quantity, existing in the concrete, can be increased or diminished; now the Sacrament can. A number, if increased, is no longer the same.

So also of place and time.

A line, pulled out to its double, is longer; i. e. a new quantity arises.

To deny this would lead to saying that motion without anything moved is possible. You cannot call in a miracle to do what is self-contradictory.

Minor autem principalis argumenti patet, discurrendo per multa genera actionum. Est autem sacramentum 5 per se descensivum, visibile, et aliorum sensuum mutativum, sicut patet per experimentum; est autem alterabile, sicut patet de sacramento calicis, quod potest calefieri, acefieri et valde varie transmutari. Et de sacramento panis, non dubium quin sit tam varie activum et 10 passivum, sicut alius panis non consecratus. Potest enim fieri mucidus, humidus, calefieri, comburi. Ideo vel oportet negare omnem sensum et per consequens rationem, vel concedere cum universali ecclesia quod ipsum sacramentum sit terrena substantia: et per con- 15 sequens non est quantitas sine subiecto.

Item, iuxta principia philosophorum, nulla una quan- E. titas secundum ultimum singulare potest maiorari vel minui; sed illud sacramentum secundum ultimum singulare potest tam maiorari quam minui, ut patet ex 20 dictis; igitur ipsum non est quantitas. Maior patet discurrendo per sex genera quantitatis; nam numerus est istius nature | quod, addita vel subtracta unitate indi- B 96\* viduali, remanet alius numerus in specie; locus autem est immobilis; et de tempore, quantumcunque | modicum A 89\* sit additum vel ablatum fit tempus aliud. Et idem patet de linea, superficie et corpore. Si enim linea pedalis potest maiorari vel minui, manens idem ultimum singulare, ponatur quod maioretur ad duplum suum, et patet quod oportet quantitatem linearem generari. Et 30 per consequens vel in toto, vel ex antiqua et nova oportet lineam novam fieri. Si enim A potest maiorari sine generatione vel deperditione quantitatis, et multo magis a pari, notabilis substantia potest maiorari et minorari sine adquisicione vel deperditione quantitatis. 35 Et sic fieret motus sine eius materia vel mensura, penes quam eius velocitas attendi poterit. Ymmo nulla foret quantitas distincta a substantia: et sic de multis obiectibus communiter adductis. Et idem est argumentum de superficie et corpore. Nec valet tollere hanc 40 rationem per miracula, quia ipsa non possunt in contradiccione. Si igitur deus facit quod A movetur vel

6, 7. immutativum A; mutatum BCD. 26. sit BC. 28. ultimum, ultimum C.



maioratur, tunc facit ea que ad huiusmodi requiruntur;  
quia aliter non foret nisi illusio. Ut si deus per im-  
possibile multiplicaret eundem punctum, vel eandem  
quantitatem in numero, foret nedum sacramentum sed  
5 tota moles sensibilis sine aliqua quantitate continua per-  
manente. Hoc enim foret miraculosius, compendiosius  
et perfectioni divine propinquius et undique deo  
F. eque possibile et evidencius ex datis deducibile. Et  
B 96<sup>d</sup> patet | maior principalis argumenti. Si enim quantitas  
10 maioratur vel minoratur, illa est quantitas communis  
aut successiva cui partes varie aquiruntur vel deperdun-  
A 89<sup>d</sup> tur | minor autem principalis argumenti patet ab ex-  
perimento certissimo. Nam ut loquar secundum rationem  
Innocentii 3<sup>ii</sup> 3<sup>o</sup> decretalium, capitulo "*Cum Marthe*",  
15 possibile est duò accidentia calicis commisceri et re-  
plere maiorem situm calicis et per consequens sacra-  
mentum potest maiorari. Ipsum igitur, cum non potest  
esse quantitas, oportet ponere materialem substanciam,  
cui proprium est per se suscipere maius et minus de  
20 formis contrariis, ac subiective mutari secundum maiorem  
constanciam quam est quantitas vel genus aliquod acci-  
dentis. Et ita, ut supra, oportet concedere cum univer-  
sali ecclesia quod sacramentum sit terrena substanciam.  
Et ita, sicut cultores signorum mutant ordinem reli-  
25 gionis Christiane, ita opinione immutant regulas et leges  
nature, ita quod de illis potest verificari id psalmi  
Ps. LXXIII<sup>o</sup>: *Posuerunt signa sua, signa, et non cognoverunt,*  
5 *sicut in exitu super summum.* "*Posuerunt*" inquam,  
quia deficiente fundamento scripture ad probandum  
30 sacramentum esse accidens declinaverunt ad comenta  
sophistica fingentes ex dei omnipotencia sic posse fieri,  
sicut ponunt, et more sophistarum sic ponunt fieri de  
inesse. Nec est fundamentum aliud opinionibus istis in  
ista materia, quamtumlibet variatis. Unde, quia quilibet  
35 habet istius erroris opinionem propriam de sacramento  
quod ut sic est signum sensibile, signanter dicitur quod  
"*posuerunt signa sua*", non signa ecclesie; ipsa enim  
ponit, ut sepe repecii, quod illa hostia sit materialis  
substantia: et cum sic declinant a veritate, et per con-  
sequens | ab unitate, signanter geminantur, mendax  
A 89<sup>a</sup> binarius, cum dicitur quod "*posuerunt signa sua, signa*".

Can God multiply the same point, the same individual quantity? Better bring in a sensible mass without quantity, if you will have a miracle. Only successive or abstract quantity, can be increased; not concrete, here and now.

Now the Sacrament can be increased in quantity, e. g. by pouring the wine element from chalice to chalice.

Vigorous digression against the Nominalists, who change Christ's religion and the laws of nature. Psalm: *Posuerunt signa sua.* Why *posuerunt*? because it is a baseless position of theirs;

*signa sua*; because it is their doctrine, not the Church's;

*signa* is repeated twice because of their duplicity;

5. alia CD. 6. mi'a et pro miraculosius D. 7. et deest D.  
26. quod deest AB. 27. 2<sup>nd</sup> signa struck out A, deest CD.  
28. textu ACD, corr. B. 31. sicut C. 36. signum deest B.

Signa enim ecclesie que Christus instituit denegant esse signa. Et ita videtur michi quod dictus infamis binarius signorum potest signare in eis mendacium signorum sacramentalium in quod ob penam peccati prioris miserabiliter sunt deducti. Et signanter sequitur 5 G. quod "*non cognoverunt*", quia cece circum palpitantes, nec cognoverunt aufugium quo inconveniencia fidelium devitarent; omnes enim de scola sathane sunt eciam a se ipsis insolubiliter redarguti, et non cognoverunt post rimas laboriosas quomodo fundacionem secte sue pal-10 liarent. Nec mirum; quia "*super summum*" blasphemant in supremo gradu "*exitus*" apostasie sue a religione Christiana. Ideo necesse est ut stulti facti sint, propter dyabolicam sapienciam simulatam. "*Super summum*" dico, quia deum ponunt dicere, quod signa sua acci-15 dencium sint corpus Christi; et per consequens deus ipse. Ideo necesse est ut *exitus* iste mendacii *super summum* superinducat ignoranciam cognoscendi. Aliter autem humiles Christi discipuli cognoverunt eum, et per consequens veritatem, in fraccione panis; quia non 20 musitarunt nec intellexerunt, quod panis ille sit sine subiecto genus aliquod accidentis.

Item videtur ex propriis principiis huius secte quod nedum sacramentum eukaristie sed quodlibet corpus sit infinitum magnum; quia nedum asserit quod quan-25 titates et essenciales materie coextendi po- terunt, sed A 89<sup>4</sup> infinitas quantitates ponit coextendi, que unam consti- tuunt |. Nam omnem quantitatem que prius fuit in B 97<sup>b</sup> pane, ponunt remanere post consecracionem; sed in- finita quantitas prius fuit in pane; igitur tanta remanet 30 post consecracionem. Pro deduccione minoris suppono H. quod materia prima de dei omnipotencia componatur ex suis partibus intensivis; quod swadetur tripliciter sectam istam debere concedere; primo, quia ponit deum nedum posse sed de facto coextendere corpora, et per 35 consequens materias que prius fuerant separata. Et certum est quod materias que possunt unam rem componere sic applicatas deus componit, vel potest componere. Et iterum certum est quod quelibet earum habet vel habere potest propriam quantitatem, sicut 40 habent ante et post coexistenciam; quantitas enim non est nisi substanciam esse quantam. Sic igitur ponunt

*non cognoverunt*, because they are blinded by their own inconsistencies;

*super summum*, because they have blasphemed in the highest degree.

From their principles it would follow that everything is infinitely great.

For they suppose that different quantities are really coextended in the Sacrament.

In the same manner as they assert that quantities can be coextended in the

13. sunt D. 18. indicat pro inducat B. 25. Fit B. 35. co deest BC. 37. rem deest omnes MSS.



- quantitates calicum posse coextendi, sic debent concedere quodlibet posse coextendi. Et idem patet de illa famosa opinione quod elementa sunt in mixtis, quam decretalis Innocentii 3<sup>ii</sup>, capitulo. "*Cum Marthe*," re-
- 5 liquit tanquam probabilem. Si enim elementa sunt in pane, cum extenduntur secundum veram mixtionem, ut inquit, oportet materiam primam componi ex suis partibus intensivis, quia aliter eque densus foret ignis in pane vel plumbo, sicut terra, cum forma sua sub
- 10 equali quantitate eandem materiam in numero actuaret; A 90<sup>a</sup> et cum penes illud habet densitas | corporis attendi, oportet dicere quod eque densus foret ignis in mixto ut terra; vel aliter, quod forma ignis actuatur dumtaxat unam raram partem intensivam totalis materie. Et se-
- B 97<sup>a</sup> quitur iuxta dicta | quod in pane sunt multe quantitates et materie coextense, et iuxta opinionem tot taliter remanent in hostia consecrata.
1. Tercio, probatur ad hominem pro dicta sententia per hoc quod sunt multe qualitates, tam eiusdem speciei
- 20 quam disparium, coextense, et quolibet earum habet propriam quantitatem; igitur oportet esse correspondenciam in fundamento nature. Argumentum deducunt per hoc quod aliter nulla foret qualitas remissa, cum non potest intendi vero motu, nisi aquirendo unam qua-
- 25 litatem super priorem. Ideo dicit Averroes, super 3<sup>o</sup> *De celo et mundo*, comento 67, quod forme elementares possunt intendi et remitti tanquam media inter substancias et accidencia; et sic sunt in mixtis secundum formas remissas. Et sic inquit quoscunque debere ponere,
- 30 qui ponunt formas materiales posse intendi et remitti. Unde, ad roborandum quod qualitates componuntur ex partibus intensivis, adducunt coextensiones luminum et aliarum qualitatuum spiritualium: quo concesso, probatur isti secte quod quolibet talis materialis qualitas
- 35 habet propriam quantitatem que foret sibi accidens. Ideo non est ratio quin sic habeat, eo ipso quo extenditur, cum sit prior sua quantitate, que sibi accidit. Et quolibet talibus evidenciis convincitur, quod oportet
- A 90<sup>b</sup> istam sectam ponere infinitas quantitates coexten | sas
- 40 in quolibet sacramento altaris, tam ratione materialium

Sacrament, they must suppose them so in everything else.

If, according to the decretal of Innocent, it is probable that the elements exist in the compound, it would follow that bread contains several quantities and primordial matters, all coextended in the same place.

Many qualities exist in bodies, each coextended, and each having its own quantity (so they say).

Averroes says that the elementary forms, half substances, half accidents, can be more or less intense. Which (with the examples of several coextended qualities), brings them to the above conclusion. This varying intensity being a true quantity of these qualities, is an accident. They therefore are extended, have another quantity; and so on for ever.

4, 5. relinquit CD.  
30. quia D.

22. Et istum pro argumentum B.  
36. ergo AB.

23. quan-

25. Averr. ubi supra.

Therefore in  
the Sacrament  
there are an  
infinite number  
of coextended  
quantities.

This is  
absurd; for  
though A  
(sacrament or  
anything) be  
not infinitely  
great, it has an  
infinite amount  
of quantity.

That quantity  
is 'rolled up'  
does not matter;  
a thread rolled  
up is just as  
long as when  
unrolled.

And in the  
Sacrament the  
quantity will be  
no less; if  
infinite before  
consecration,  
then infinite  
after.

Even if these  
quantities  
coexist only  
intensively: the  
subject is as  
great by one as  
by all.

Besides, to  
suppose that  
compressed  
quantity is  
smaller than  
uncompressed,  
is to admit that  
individual  
quantity can be  
increased or  
diminished:  
which has been  
proved false.

If it be said  
that, extracting  
these quantities,  
we compose a  
new one that  
was not there  
before, — we

et formarum substancialium que prefuerunt in pane et  
vino, quam ratione qualitatum materialium remanen-  
cium; cum omnes ille forme accidentales, ut inquirunt,  
sunt servate. Quibus premissis, arguitur primo proposita K.  
conclusio; quia, da quod | A, sacramentum vel corpus B 97<sup>4</sup>  
pedale, non sit infinitum magnum, contra ipsum est ita  
magnum sicut totalis eius quantitas, cum vel sit illa  
quantitas vel sibi equalis; sed infinitum magna est  
quecunque talis quantitas; igitur conclusio. Nam ita  
magna est, ut supponitur ex dictis, sicut potest esse; 10  
sed infinitum magna potest esse. Si enim unum pedale  
A quantitatis foret ex dei omnipotentia extractum et  
per situm equalem A immediate per se positum et  
continuatum, et sic infinitum versus omnem differenciam  
posicionis, patet quod quantitas composita foret in- 15  
finita. Et ita magnum est modo, licet quantitates fuerint  
convolute, sicut filum est ita magnum convolutum in  
globo sicut foret extractum in longum.

Nec valet dicere quod deficiet quantitas pedalis ex-  
trahendo, quia quot fuerunt materie prime pedales co- 20  
extense, tot remanent in sacramento quantitates pedales;  
et iterum, ratione qualitatum remanent in sacramento  
eciam infinite quantitates pedales; et de totidem infinitis  
quantitatibus pedalibus non communicantibus possunt  
extrahi versus omnem differenciam posicionis eciam in- 25  
finite. Nec valet dicere quod | quantitates coextense non A 90<sup>6</sup>  
quantitative sed intensive componunt aliam: primo,  
quia subiectum est eque intense magnum per unam,  
sicut foret per quotlibet coextensas. Ideo dicunt philo-  
sophi quod quantitas non suscipit magis et minus. 30  
Secundo, quia nulla quantitas potest maiorari vel mino-  
rari secundum ultimum singulare, ut declaratur in  
proximo argumento; sed quantitas convoluta et iam  
expansa est sic magna; igitur ipsa | fuit pro tempore B 98<sup>8</sup>  
coextensionis parcium ita magna et per consequens par- 35  
tes, sicut solum quantitative fuerunt, sic quantitative  
suum totum composuerunt. Nec valet tercio dicere quod L.  
quantitates sic extracte et novo modo composite com-  
ponunt quantitatem novam, que non prefuit; quia, sicut  
quantitates possunt extrahi integre, ita possunt unum 40  
componere; et cum prefuerint componentes unam quando  
fuerunt coextense, videtur quod eandem componunt

14. in *pro* sic D.  
38. sint *pro* sic BCD.

17. involute D.

37. quod quod CD.



- modo. Sufficit enim ad individuacionem totius ydemp-  
 titas omnium suarum parcium, licet habeant modum  
 alium componendi; ut linea recta potest fieri circularis,  
 vel aliter figurata, ut alibi deductum est. Nec valet,  
 5 quarto, quod in confinio parcium compositarum generatur  
 nova quantitas, quia aliter foret compositio continui ex  
 non quantis; tum quia illud est verum; tum etiam quia  
 per idem corrumperebuntur due quantitates extremales,  
 loco unius generate; et sic foret quantitas expansa  
 A 90<sup>d</sup> minor quam fuerat convoluta; quia plus de illa | cor-  
 rumperetur, quam ad illam generaretur. Ideo, notata  
 tota quantitate antiqua que remanet iam expansa, patet  
 quod illa est infinitum magna et per consequens ita  
 magna fuit antea convoluta. Similiter impossibile est  
 15 quantitates sic coextendi, nisi fuerint infinite que non  
 adequate componunt aliquod tertium, et per consequens  
 est dare quantitates sic extensas que possent separari  
 ab invicem, ipsis manentibus continuis in extremis, cum  
 B 98<sup>b</sup> hoc quod in fine precise componant, | ut modo; et per  
 20 consequens tantum sunt modo ut forent in fine; et se-  
 quitur quod infinitum posset resultare ex quocunque  
 corpore, precise secundum compositionem qua modo  
 M. componuntur partes ad invicem. Et ex istis deducunt  
 philosophi quod in quolibet situ puncti, linee vel super-  
 25 ficiei sunt infinita huiusmodi simul; quod supponitur  
 hic esse impossibile. Ideo manifestum est quod com-  
 positio ex partibus intensivis materie, forme vel acci-  
 dentis, non stat cum veritate. Ideo oportet fidelem dicere,  
 quod continuum componitur ex non quantis, quod ista  
 30 opinio detestatur. Et patet evidenter ex principiis huius  
 secte, quomodo sequitur quod omne sacramentum vel  
 corpus sensibile sit immensum; sed nichil est illo magis  
 hereticum. Ideo ipsum est iuxta dicta in capitulo 10 a  
 fidelibus respuendum. Nam secundum deducionem alibi  
 35 declaratam, talis infidelitas foret omnino superflua et  
 sapientie divine contraria.
- A 91<sup>a</sup> Ideo fingunt alii tanquam profundio | res heretici,  
 quod eukaristia non sit accidens unius generis sed agre-  
 gatio accidencium diversorum in genere sine substantia  
 40 subiectante. Isti autem ficticie novelle deficit primo fun-  
 damentum; quia nec in scriptura nec in doctoribus  
 novis vel antiquis, nec in ecclesie legibus est fundata,

answer that a  
 line is no  
 shorter when  
 circular than  
 when straight.

We are  
 therefore  
 reduced to  
 admit an  
 infinite  
 quantity; but as  
 this is  
 impossible,  
 coextended  
 quantities are  
 a false  
 hypothesis.

The continuum  
 is not composed  
 of parts having  
 size; otherwise  
 each body, and  
 not only the  
 Sacrament is  
 infinitely great.  
 Conclusion:  
 this theory is  
 inadmissible.

Others say that  
 the Eucharist  
 is an aggregate  
 of accidents; a  
 groundless and  
 still more  
 absurd  
 assertion.

Every reason  
that is against  
each accident,  
is against their  
aggregate.

The Sacrament  
is nothing and  
worth nothing;  
reason and  
sense are alike  
insulted.

It is scandalous  
to call an  
aggregate of  
accidents what  
St. Ambrose  
names a  
'terrestrial  
substance'.

Why should  
he speak of this  
substance and  
forget to  
mention this  
bundle of  
accidents?

And the  
Church must  
have been blind  
during the first  
thousand years  
of its existence.  
Also all the  
early Fathers  
and Doctors.  
Why should  
Christ  
annihilate the  
Host, if the  
martyrs were  
changed for the  
better by their  
sacrifice?

sed expresse contrarium. Item, cum non pertinet ad opinionem istam intelligere hanc agregacionem simpliciter abstractive, sed concretive; scilicet pro illis accidentibus agregatis, patet quod quecumque ratio militat contra aliquod | illorum, militat etiam contra huiusmodi B 98<sup>e</sup> agregata. Item videtur, ut supra, quod illud sacramentum non sit aliquid vel quicquam valens, quod non competit corpori Christi, sed contradicit tam rationi quam sensui; non enim vincit ratio vel sensacio, quod aliquod sit corpus sensibile vere continuum, quin 10 per idem sic foret de hostia; et ille qui simpliciter meliorando procedit, sicut acceptavit hostiam oblatam que fuit terrena substantia, sic melioraret hanc hostiam non acceptando unum et destruendo priorem hostiam sine causa.

Item nimis magna foret presumptio scandalizare uni- N. versalem ecclesiam que istis mille annis, ut creditur, ex doctrina beati Ambrosii, vocat hanc hostiam post consecracionem et oblacionem terrenam substantiam. Foret enim ecclesie scandalum nimie insipientie, quod si sa- 20 cerdos offert illam agregacionem accidencium que expectabit consecracionem, et fiet quodammodo corpus Christi, et illa terrena substantia destruetur, nichil conferens ecclesie vel sacramento futuro, | quod faciat A 91<sup>b</sup> mencionem de illa terrena substantia et omittat no- 25 minare illum fasciculum accidencium, qui remanebit sacramentum honorandum; et post consecracionem faciet totum opus sacramentale, potissime cum vocando ipsum fasciculum accidencium sine subiecta substantia consecrandum, tolleretur occasio credendi quod hec terrena 30 substantia remanet sacramentum et informaretur ecclesia in fide de quidditate sacramenti usque hodie incognita. Si igitur hoc foret ad tantum melius, nimis stulta ceci | tas occupavit ecclesiam in mille annis in B 98<sup>d</sup> tam solemnii secreta illud omittere et tantam stulticiam 35 seminare. Et eadem stulticia vincitur de cunctis doctoribus millenarii Christi, qui omnes omiserant illud gloriosum genus eukaristie iam repertum. Et iterum videtur difficile fingere causam quare Christus offert hanc terrenam hostiam et post in puncto profectus omnino 40 destrueret: cum Ysaac oblatus, Christus et martires sui

17. qua ABD.  
24. facit B.

19. et deest omnes MSS.  
36. convincitur ABC.

21, 22. expectabat B.



per oblationem mutantur; igitur melius, servata persona. Numquid ydolatre alludunt erroribus pontificum ydolorum, qui perditis magnatibus morte duplici fingunt quod rapiuntur, ut socii, in deorum suorum collegium?

5 Sic, inquit, panis convertitur in corpus Christi, non sicut accidens in natura servatum; sed nusquam rei ipsius relinquens aliquid, tam secundum materiam quam

O, formam omnino destruitur.

A 91<sup>e</sup> Item, multa sunt accidentia in | hostia consecrata  
10 que subiectantur, ut oportet fideles credere de accidentibus respectivis; quantitas etiam et qualitas, cum possunt acquiri et perdi, sunt in aliquo subiective; igitur illud iuxta descripciones philosophorum, oportet esse substantiam distinctam a novem generibus accidentis;  
15 et cum illud sit aliquid suis accidentibus informatum, oportet concedere ipsum esse sacramentum altaris, et non fasciculum nichili supradictum; omnia enim dicta accidentia reducuntur ad ipsum tanquam ad aliquod unum agens quicquid fecerint illa accidentia.

20 Unde adversarii concedunt quod omnia reliqua accidentia subiectantur in quantitate que, informata ac-  
B 99<sup>a</sup> ci | dentibus, sit sacramentum; ut patet per famosiores doctores, Thomam, Egidium, Scotum, et alios: Non enim potest quantitas impertinens esse fundacioni qua-  
25 litatis, sicut nec prius fuit, pane manente. Sicut igitur fundat qualitatem, sic subiectat, si non sit subiectum ad subiectans utrimque; et per consequens, sicut quantitas informatur figura, sic quocunque accidente alio quod subiectat; quod cum sit impossibile, ut patet ex  
30 dictis, patet quod opinio illud gignens. Nam sacramentum calicis potest guttatim dividi, ut patet ad oculum; igitur per idem potest reuniri et continuari, et per consequens constituere unum continuum descensivum; nichil enim per se descendit nisi gravitas, vel habens in se  
35 gravitatem; iste autem fasciculus non habet in se gravitatem, quia nulla pars eius; gravitas enim est aliena a quantitate et quacunque alia qualitate.

A 91<sup>d</sup> Item, ex dictis sequitur quod dictum | sacramentum  
P. non sit visibile nec activum, quod est manifeste in-  
40 opinabile et hereticum; consequentiam deducunt logici per hoc quod, si hoc sacramentum sit visibile, et per consequens res visibilis, et sic aliquid est ipsum sacra-

A god was made out of nothing in Pagan apotheosis; is this a copy of them?

Many accidents in the Host require a subject so the Eucharist must be a distinct substance, not a bundle of nothingness.

Our opponents grant that the other accidents have quantity for their subject. Quantity, basis of quality, informed by figure, &c. would itself be the subject, were there no other.

This being impossible, the opinion is false.

Weight has nothing to do with quantity and other accidents; but the Sacrament has weight.

Consequences: the Sacrament is a) invisible; b) inactive. a) 1<sup>st</sup> If visible, a visible thing; if a thing, a substance.

1. in C. 6. in *deest* BCD. 14. accidentium B. 28. figuratur omnes MSS. 35, 36. iste — gravitatem *deest* CD. 39. ut *pro* quod BCD.

2nd At least partly invisible, for many qualities are not to be seen.

Neither is even a part visible; 'nothing' is not made up of parts.

An aggregate of abstractions cannot be seen, but the Sacrament is, according to them, such an aggregate.

The Sacrament, as an aggregate, has no collective existence, like that of a people; for it has no quantitative unity.

b) The Sacrament is not active, any

mentum. Sed dimissa ista contencione logica, videtur quod hoc sacramentum non sit visibile, quia nec secundum totum nec secundum partem: non, inquam, secundum totum, quia multe sunt qualitates et quantitates aliorum sensuum que non sunt visibiles ut sic, oculo 5 corporali, de qua visione primo loquitur. Nemo videt quantitatem que fuit materie prime; sic nemo videt gravitatem, duriciem, saporem et similes qualitates; et sic non videt ipsum sacramentum secundum se totum; | nec B 99<sup>b</sup> homo ipsum videt secundum sui partem, quia ex nulla 10 parte aliquo modo componitur, cum nichil sit. Et si loquamur extense de parte, per idem loquendum est extense de toto corpore, et continuo quod ipsum sit aliquid terminans basim pyramidis visualis. Et hec conclusio evidencius sequitur, si sacramentum sit agregacio in ab- 15 stracto, quia nullus respectus videtur, cuius extrema videri non possunt; ut nemo unionem anime cum corpore, nec videt multiplicacionem aliquorum, quorum multa non sunt visibilia. Specialiter, si non constituunt unum aliquod ab eis distinctum; ut nemo audit, gustat, 20 olfacit vel tangit multiplicacionem insensibilem angelorum et ydearum in deo, cum multiplicacione sensibilium: quia sic sensibile foret insensibile, visibile invisibile, cum secundum plurimam | partem sui non foret sensi- A 92<sup>a</sup> bile. Nec foret sacramentum aliquid unum, sicut est 25 exercitus vel cumulus qui nedum est una substancia, sed unum corpus vel una persona. Ideo locus a simili non concludit, quod sit visibile activum vel passivum, ut populus; quia per idem foret sacramentum infinitum longum, infinitum latum et infinitum magnum, ac con- 30 trarie qualificatum, ut est de suis partibus. Et patet quomodo Gog concludit scole sue, cum unus dicit quod videt in sacramento corpus Christi oculo corporali; alius autem dicit, quod nemo potest sic videre ipsum sacramentum, cum illud quod videmus sit color et non 35 ipsum sacramentum; et sic foret sacramentum omnino insensibile | sicut est nobis incognitum. B 99<sup>a</sup>

Et conformiter deducitur quod non sit activum vel Q. passivum: ut multitudo ex deo et aliis non est creativa,

5. sint BCD. 6. prime ABC; *ib.* vidit D. 10. videt *deest* CD.  
13. de corpore C. 23. visibile et AB. 26. tumulus ABC. 34. nemo  
*deest* D. 39. creatia AB.

39. Multitudo ex Deo et aliis: *suppl.* composita.



- dampnata et beata cum aliis denominacionibus contrariis. Et per idem agregacio rerum tam disparium in genere nec agit nec patitur, si non earum quelibet sic se habet; quia aliter, mota una quacunque specie  
 5 motus, omnia moverentur eadem; quod non dixerunt maniaci quos reprobant Aristoteles. Ex multis talibus patet gradus falsissimus huius vie. Ex istis probabiliter convincitur, quod inter omnes hereses que unquam de sacramento altaris surreperant, heresis de eius quiditate, qua fingitur quod sit accidens sine subiecto vel  
 10 talium agregacio, est magis subdola et blasphema. Cum enim ex fide et sanctorum testimonio illud sacramentum sit quodammodo corpus Christi, non secundum suam  
 A 92<sup>b</sup> substantiam sed miraculo verbi dei, parvipensio | illius  
 15 hostie est correspondenter parvipensio corporis domini et sic dei. Sed non plus posset parvipendi, quam non solum reputando sed credendo et predicando quod est  
 imperfeccius in natura sua quam substantia creata. Ymmo est realiter unum nichil. Tales, inquam, non  
 20 adorarent hanc hostiam; sed dimissa veritate ewangelii fingerent monstruosum et infundabilem modum corporis Christi absconditum, et illum mendaciter adorarent.
- R. Item, iuxta decretum De consecratione distincione 2<sup>a</sup>. *Ego Berengarius*, anathematizanda est omnis heresis que  
 B 99<sup>a</sup> ponit sacramentum altaris post consecra | cionem esse  
 solum sacramentum et non corpus vel sanguinem Jesu Christi; sed hec heresis dicit istud et superaddit blasphemiam. Ponit enim quod ille panis sit sacramentum et non corpus Christi, et ponit implicite quod corpus  
 30 Christi induitur superflue accidens per se, destructa panis substantia sine causa. Quod cum secundum sanctos non possit esse, patet quanta blasphemia menciendo de Christo incurritur; et licet consecratores accidentis cognoscant quod populus adorat hoc sacramentum tanquam corpus  
 35 Christi, quod dicunt esse ydolatriam, tamen reticent, timendo quod quereretur ab eis quid sit hoc sacramentum, et perciperetur eorum mendax versucia. Et revera tota communitas fidelium debet comunicacionem et corporalem sustentacionem subtrahere a talibus here-  
 40 ticis apostatis et blasphemis.

more than a multitude composed of God and other things; for this multitude has neither action nor passion.

These proofs show how cunningly blasphemous this heresy is.

The sacrament is the body of Christ; to make it an accident is therefore to slight Christ's body.

Its nature would be most imperfect.

To say that the Sacrament is only a sign after consecration has been condemned as heretical. Now that is exactly their position.

These accidents clothe Christ's body quite superfluously.

They know that to adore a mere sign is idolatry; yet they let the people do so. Such apostates ought not to receive any alms from the faithful.

4. unacunque BC. 10. quia pro qua B. 15. corporis Christi B.  
 20. adorent B. 20. fingeret BCD. 24. anathemanda omnes MSS.  
 29. multiplicite B. 33. consecraciones BC. 35. recitent B.

11. Cf. Trialogus, p. 248.

God can — and  
they do not  
know that He  
does not —  
make bread to  
be His body;  
and yet they  
deny it.

Item, deus potest consecrare panis substantiam faci-  
ciendo ipsam esse | corpus suum, ut ex fide scripture A 92<sup>e</sup>  
et testimonio sanctorum clare convincitur; sed nesciunt  
quin sic facit de facto: igitur magna foret presumpcio  
simpliciter hoc negare. Consequencia patet ex hoc, quod 5  
dato antecedente ex dubio presumptor assereret heresim  
contra Christum. Per hoc enim argumentum captum a  
proposicione de possibili concludunt adversarii, quod  
sacramentum illud de facto sit accidens sine subiecto;  
quia deus, ut inquirunt, posset hoc facere, et testes 10  
multi hoc asserunt. Maior patet ex evidenciis beati  
Ambrosii adiuncto dicto Christi: "hoc est corpus meum";  
blasphemum igitur foret negare deum posse hec facere.  
Et quantum ad veritatem | de inesse, patet ex uno latere B 100<sup>a</sup>  
quod beatus Augustinus cum ceteris affirmat deum non 15 S.  
posse facere accidens sine subiecto. Nec scriptura sacra  
innuit cum sanctis doctoribus sacramentum esse accidens,  
sed vocat ipsum panem cum testimonio sanctorum. Ideo  
periculosum videtur exuere illud nomen, et infundabiliter  
induere alienum. Non enim docetur ex ratione scriptura 20  
vel decreto ecclesie, quod ipsum sacramentum sit ac-  
cidens sine subiecto, cum nec hoc movet ratio, nec  
testimonii revelacio, nec scriptura. Sed ex alio latere  
sonant ad oppositum hec tria.

St. Augustine  
and others  
affirm that an  
accident cannot  
possibly exist  
without its  
subject.

Conclusion:  
we find that the  
only foundation  
of this theory  
is a lie about  
Innocent III.

Examinanda igitur foret fundabilis revelacio, super 25  
qua fundaretur ista sententia, sed toto facto non est  
originalis fundacio nisi mendacium factum de ecclesia  
et Innocencio III<sup>o</sup>; talem autem errorem in fide de  
sacramento sine subiecto, oportet sine veritatis funda-  
mento fingi ex antichristi mendacio. 30

3. nescit *omnes MSS.*  
29. scilicet CD.

30. et AB.

8. proposicione C.

23. testimonium.



## CAPITULUM TREDECIMUM.

A 92<sup>d</sup> Ultima via dicit | quod sacramentum altaris est qualitas; et ista, ut tetigi, habet minus inprobabilitatis quam relique; quia, cum qualitas consequitur formam, decens  
5 videtur quod sacramentum sapientie que est forma dei patris sit vestigium forme et non materie prime, sed accidencium ac verbi divini ostensivum cuiusmodi solum est qualitas inter genera accidentis. Item, maioris constancie in rarefaccione et condensacione est qualitas  
10 quam quantitas, vel dicta agregacio accidentis; sed decet hoc sacramentum esse permansivum et activum; ideo foret congruencius qualitas quam quantitas vel agregacio supra dicta. Qualitas | enim eadem in numero  
15 potest esse nunc minor et nunc maior, quod non potest competere quantitati. Item ex generali sermone de sacramento ipsum est invisibilis gracie visibilis forma, ut similitudinem gerat et causa existat, quod inter formas accidentales magis competeret qualitati. Et concordant  
20 testimonia sanctorum dicencium quod species, forma et similitudo panis remanet; ideo certum est, si sacramentum est accidens sine subiecto, ipsum est qualitas.

Concordando autem quantum fides permittit opiniones predictas, dico, quod impossibile est hoc sacramentum esse formaliter qualitatem, quantitatem vel agregacionem multorum generum accidencium. Sed admittendo  
25 predicacionem secundum materiam vel subiectum, ut facit scriptura, conceditur quod hoc sacramentum est tam quantitas quam qualitas, quam eciam accidentia diversorum generum congregata. Et sic sacerdos magnus  
30 Christus factus est reconciliacio omnibus qui volunt humiliter | sequi ipsum in logica; sed superbi dicentes  
Jo. cum hereticis retrorsum abeuntibus: "Durus est hic  
VI, 6

The opinion that the Sacrament is a quality, is the least improbable. For I. Quality is a vestige of the form, and thus better than quantity. II. Quality changes less, and is thus more able to be a subject.

III. A sacrament is a form of grace; so is quality a form.  
IV. And Saints have favoured this view.

Yet it is not admissible, unless we give this quality a subject.

9. et D. 18. quantitati B. 21. quantitas B. 26. naturam B.  
29. agregata D. 31. in *deest* BC. 32. abeuntis B.

In one sense  
the Sacrament  
is many  
accidents; but  
they are not  
absolute. It is  
in one sense  
earthly  
substance, and  
in another  
Christ's body.

And thinking  
of His Body,  
we eat Him  
spiritually.

Otherwise we  
only eat the  
accidents, *sign*  
of Christ's  
body;

we multiply  
prayers, and  
are yet  
without charity.

We pray to  
learn to love  
our enemies,

and say we do  
so, but it is  
false.

The false  
teachers as to  
the Eucharist  
do all this.

A concrete  
quality cannot  
be increased or  
diminished.

sermo et quis potest eum audire?" perierunt in propriis vanitatibus et, dicentes se esse sapientes, stulti facti sunt, propriis funiculis laqueati. Quamvis enim sacramentum altaris sit multiplex accidens ad sensum equivocum, non tamen est sine subiecto, cum ad alium<sup>5</sup> sensum subicitur formaliter cuilibet huiusmodi accidenti; et stat sententia Augustini et philosophorum quod nullo<sup>B</sup> accidens potest esse sine subiecto et per consequens ipsum sacramentum non est accidens sine subiecto, sed in natura sua terrena substantia et ad sensum<sup>10</sup> alium corpus Christi, ad quod | omnis fidelis in mente<sup>B 100<sup>d</sup></sup> debet attendere, pastis sensibus exiliter circa accidentia quantum oportet, et suspensa consideracione circa naturam vel quiditatem materialis substantie sacramenti. Tota autem sollicitudo fidelium debet esse in cogitacione,<sup>15</sup> in affectione et imitatione, corpori Christi, quod sursum est intendere, et ipsum fide formata spiritualiter manducare, et specialiter secundum panis et vini significanciam in caritate fundari, quod habeant omnia in communi.

20

Aliter enim ad sui iudicium manducant corpus mortuum sacramenti, quod ostenditur in generatione signa terrena querente, et in contencione ac emulatione, accidens quod est signum corporis domini comedente. Multiplicantur enim oraciones, variantur religiones et<sup>25</sup> onerantur fideles per humanas tradiciones; et tamen ab origine mundi non fuit caritas tepidior quam est modo. Rogamus enim dari nobis disciplinam inimicos diligere, ordinamus religiosos qui hortantes ad pacem | A<sup>93<sup>b</sup></sup> doceant mundum contempnere, et instamus cordate, ut<sup>30</sup> fingimus, pro libertate ecclesie; et tamen per solucionem sathane patris mendacii novimus hec dicere, sed contrarium omnino facere. Quod cum sit falsitas veritati opposita, patet quam torve retrocedimus tamquam discipuli antichristi. Et hec omnia scola verbi et<sup>35</sup> operis circa sacramentum eucharistie efficit vel figurat.

Redeundo igitur ad scolam priorem, probatur quod C. sacramentum altaris non sit qualitas sine subiecto. Nam nulla qualitas potest intendi vel | remitti secundum<sup>B 100<sup>d</sup></sup> ultimum singulare; sed hoc sacramentum potest, ut<sup>40</sup> patet ex dictis; igitur ipsum non est formaliter scilicet qualitas. Maior patet ex hoc quod ideo est motus ad

6. cuius libet B. 18. sed BC. 19. fundati omnes MSS. 31. fingamus B.



qualitatem ut per se terminum, quia nichil potest alterari nisi adquisierit vel perdiderit qualitatem. Et istam sententiam noverunt qui ponunt qualitatem componi ex partibus intensivis vel continue esse novam; nam intensio vel remissio qualitatis non est nisi qualitas, cum per idem quantitas et locus non requiruntur ad hoc quod aliquid in illis generibus moveatur.

There can be no movement, unless towards a quality as an end.

Item, iuxta dicta de quantitate, sacramentum foret infinitum intensum, eo ipso quod intenditur, nam ita intensum est sicut potest esse; infinitum intensum potest esse: igitur etc. Minorem non negat adversarius, et maior patet ex hoc quod eadem qualitas non posset intendi, nisi vel per condensacionem vel per qualitatis adquisicionem. Primum membrum aufugiunt, cum pocius, ut inquit, per condensacionem remitteretur qualitas, ut patet de caliditate, de raritate et similibus. Et si videatur qualitatem intendi, hoc est quod una noviter generatur. Similiter, si eadem qualitas sacramentalis posset intendi, posset una cum alia coextendi, et per consequens, continuata tali intencione per tempus infinitum, intensa foret talis qualitas ante finem cuiuscunque partis eiusdem temporis: quia infinite partes D. eque intense non communicantes forent coextense. Similiter omnis intensio qualitatis est qualitas, ut patet ex descriptione qualitatis; et concordant emuli. Sed sacramentum intensum per tempus aquiret latitudinem intensionis; et sic infinitos gradus, quorum quilibet remanebit cum alio; igitur tota qualitas sacramentalis erit in fine infinitum intensa. Multa autem talia argumenta possunt evacuari per logicos vere ponentes substantiam subici istis accidentibus que sunt insolubilia isti vie.

The Sacrament would be not infinitely extended, but infinitely intense: for nothing could make this quality more so.

If a quality in the Sacrament could become more intense, it might be coextended with another, and so become infinite. Its intensity is a quality; which, having permanence, has another quality, and so on, till quality is infinite.

Item, cum in sacramento sunt multa genera qualitatum, nec subest ratio, quare ipsum foret una qualitas, quin per idem et quolibet, videtur quod sacramentum sit omnes huiusmodi qualitates. Non enim est singula earum, sicut videtur glosam dicere de consecracione distincione 2<sup>a</sup>, super capitulo "Sacerdotum"; certum quidem est quod sacramentum vel est sic qualificatum vel ipsa qualitas. Sed non est ipsa qualitas secundum glosam, cum non sit ponderositas; igitur est

The Sacrament is either its own qualities or their subject. But it is not heaviness, for instance; so there must be a subject that is heavy.

St. Thomas makes quantity the subject of the other accidents: for quality cannot be qualified.

If the Sacrament is all those qualities, then quantity must be added too: with all its difficulties.

This view is contrary to known fact.

If the sacramental quality is called the Sacrament, it will be so only by means of the other qualities.

The contrary opinion (that the substance remains), confirmed by Augustine and others,

is denied by the opponents, because the bread is transubstantiated; which, this granted, could not be true.

subiectum | distinctum; et hoc est evidens, Thome et A 93<sup>4</sup>  
aliis dicentibus quod proprium est quantitati esse quan-  
tam, sic quod qualitas non sit qualis, quia tunc, ut  
inquiunt, virtus foret virtuosa, beatitudo beata, sessio-  
que sederet et sic forent in hostia consecrata multa 5  
genera sacramentorum. Non enim potest poni prior  
qualitas, quia per idem foret quelibet qualitas prima  
et potissime, que continue est nova. Si igitur sacra-  
mentum sit omnes ille qualitates coniunctim, per idem  
iungenda est quantitas cum aliis accidentibus, ut dicit 10  
secunda opinio; et sic quodlibet argumentum quod  
movet contra aliquam horum trium movet etiam contra  
istud. Tunc enim non haberet sacramentum istud con-  
E. stanciam permanendi et denominationes notorias reci-  
piendi, ut motum, benedictionem, vel accionem, vel pas- 15  
sionem, ut non posset calefieri, commisceri, | sanctificari, B 101<sup>b</sup>  
agere, vel videri; quorum aliqua contradicunt experi-  
mento certissimo, et alia obviant rationi sacramenti,  
cum non sanctificatur nisi sanctitas et virtus sacra-  
mentalialis inducatur: que cum sit potissima, cui omnes 20  
alie qualitates subserviunt, videtur quod illa sit potis-  
sime sacramentum vel pars eius principalis; sicut anima  
est pars hominis, cum sacramentum sit sensibile. Et  
sic ipsa non per se est sacramentum sed alie qualitates  
quas induit. 25

Multe sunt tales instantie ex quibus manuducitur  
fidelis diu quod sacramentum altaris sit panis sanctifi-  
catus, ut dicit Augustinus, et per consequens substantia  
panis, ut dicit autor de divinis | officiis capitulo 5<sup>to</sup>, A 94<sup>a</sup>  
“De canone misse”, ubi exponit istum quinarium: 30  
*hostiam sanctam* etc. “Per quinarium,” inquit, “crucis  
signaculum panis et vini inprimit substantie Christo  
sedenti ad dextram dei patris veraciter, ut dictum est,  
concorporate.” Sed contra dicta obicitur per hoc quod F.

27. fidelis unitas diu A.

1. St. Thomas says (S. Theol. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, qu. LXXVII, art. 2.  
“Respondeo . . . etc. *Unde et ipsa quantitas dimensiva secundum  
se habet quamdam individuationem*”. But he carefully distinguishes  
*extensive force* from *extension*. “*Quantitas dimensiva . . . non  
est quantitas mathematica* (ibid. ad 4<sup>m</sup> dicendum . . .)” 29. The  
exposition of these words in *De Divinis Officiis* is quite different.  
32. The sense is not clear; but if *sacerdos* be added, as subject  
of *inprimit*, and *quinarium* taken as a substantive, there is a  
meaning to the whole.



panis et vinum transsubstantiantur in corpus Christi et sanguinem, ut patet primo decretalium capitulo "*Firmiter*". Sed istud secundum famosos doctores nostros et glosam decretalium non potest salvari, nisi panis et vinum desinant esse secundum quamlibet sui partem. Hic dicitur, ut patet alibi, quod signatio extranea est petita et non fundata, quia includit oppositum in adiecto. Si enim substantia transit in substantiam, quod est transsubstantiatio, tunc oportet dare subiectum huius motus remanens, quia aliter transiret in nichilum. Ideo, ut alias dixi ex sententia beati Ambrosii et Augustini, in hac benedicta conversione, panis fit aliquid quod prius non fuit. Unde beatus Ysidorus in quodam sermone, post declarationem conversionis multiplicis, sic inquit: "Sicut baptisatus ante invocacionem nominis Christi et mortuum et putridum membrum est, sed post invocacionem membrum vivum et corpus Christi est, sic substantia panis et vini ante consecracionem panis et vinum est; post consecracionem corpus Christi et sanguis Christi est." Ecce planum testimonium huius sancti quod substantie panis et vini sunt post consecracionem corpus Christi et sanguis. Et eadem est sententia Ambrosii et aliorum sanctorum dicentium quod panis erit corpus Christi, licet posterius per glosas ordi narias eorum sententia sit retorta; ut hii dicunt, quod panis, *hoc est, accidens vel forma panis*, erit corpus Christi; illi, quod non illud *accidens* sed in illo *accidente* erit corpus Christi; et illi quod non ille *panis*, sed ex *pane* fiet corpus Christi.

Et sic relicta sanctorum logica et scriptura vix per decennium durat logica ficta per istos apostatas; et cum tanta mania percussi sunt ut dicant, si principium secte sue et almanac suum annale sentenciant dandam sentenciam, tunc ipsa est determinatio universalis ecclesie. Unde quia non habent ab Innocencio III<sup>o</sup> vel papa alio quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens sine subiecto, recurrunt ad comenta mendacii et glosas doctorum indiscretorum, qui per eis similes sunt ducti. Et sic, ut fabulatur de presbitero Johanne quod pransus licenciatur ut tunc comedat totus mundus, sic

*Answer.* This sense cannot be the right one, as it includes such contradictions. If there is a passage of one substance into another, what passes?

St. Isidore compares the Eucharistic change with that of baptism, but does the neophyte turn to nothing?

Other Saints, whose sense is improperly wrested by the gloss, say the same.

Remarks on the arrogance and folly of the glossators.

Unable to ground their theory on Innocent's decree, they recur to glosses. These madmen think all their opinions are those of the Church.

30. scripture ABC. 33. almanant D.

15. Isid., t. 83, p. 1228 of Migne. Wyclif's quotation is very free. 30. Cf. Sermones, III, 77.

isti ma | niaci impudenter asserunt, quod si ipsi sic B 101<sup>d</sup>  
sentenciant, sententia illa est decretum universalis ec-  
clesie.

Thus the  
solution of the  
difficulty is that  
the bread and  
wine are  
changed into  
Christ's body,  
their substance  
remaining.

If it is asked,  
How? let them  
say how a rod  
became a  
serpent, &c.

Conversion, or  
transsubstantia-  
tion does not  
signify  
destruction but  
permanence;  
I. Naturally, by  
eduction of a  
form:

as accident is  
to substance,  
so is substantial  
form to matter;

II. Super-  
naturally, when  
bread becomes  
Christ's body,  
or a sinner is  
converted: in  
both cases the  
subject remains  
the same.

Et patet solucio instancie supradicte, cum argumen-  
tum concedi debeat ad hunc sensum, quod panis et 5  
vinum convertuntur in corpus Christi et sanguinem,  
cum ipsa aliquomodo, servata natura eorum, fiunt cor-  
pus Christi et sanguis, non sicut adversarii fingunt  
formam panis, vel accidens quod panem nominant, fieri  
corpus Christi. Et si musitant, quomodo panis trans- 10  
substanciatur vel convertitur in corpus Christi, cum  
remanet, dicant quomodo hoc competit sacramento, | A 94<sup>d</sup>  
dicant secundo quomodo essentia virge transsubstancia-  
tur in serpentem, essentia corporis uxoris Loth trans-  
substanciatur in statuam salis, essentia aque fit vinum, 15  
quomodo membrum dyaboli convertitur et transsubstan-  
ciatur in membrum Christi et tamen utrobique remanet  
eadem essentia in numero non destructa. Conversio H.  
enim, vel transsubstanciatio, non dicit destructionem  
essencie, sed eius remanenciam. Et ita est duplex con- 20  
versio, prima propinqua motui naturali, quando, educta  
forma substantiali, alia nova in essenciam naturalem  
inducitur: ut patet in exemplo triplici supradicto, et  
iuxta philosophiam ac logicam scripture. Substantia  
unius modi erit substantia alterius modi, ut Joh. II<sup>o</sup> 25  
subtiliter dicitur aquam factam vinum. Sicut enim ac- 26  
cidens contingit substantie, sic forma substantialis ma-  
terialis contingit materiali essencie. Jo. II, 9

Secundus modus conversionis vel transsubstanciacionis  
magis miraculosus est, quando dominus Jesus Christus, 30  
verus deus et verus homo, facit conversum quodammodo  
se ipsum: et hec est mutacio dextre | excelsi deo pro- B 102<sup>a</sup>  
pria. Et fit dupliciter: vel illabendo anime peccatoris,  
faciendo ipsum quodammodo ipsum Christum, vel as-  
sistendo sacramentaliter terrene substantie faciendo 35  
ipsam quodammodo corpus suum; quomodo autem hoc  
fit, subiacet communiter scrutinio et fidei cunctorum  
fidelium. Christus enim dixit panem sacramentalem esse  
corpus suum. Sed cavendum est, ne margarithe fidei  
ventilate in glosis legum hominum ecclipsentur; quia 40

7. fuit AB. 10. sic pro si omnes MSS. 18. substantia B.  
21. motu D. 22. materialem AD. 29. motus AB. 30. periculosus ABC;  
corr. D. 31. fecit D.



A 94<sup>a</sup> secundum | Jeronimum: *Quod medicorum est, medici tractant, fabrilis fabri.*

1. Secundo, obicitur per hoc: in ambiguis sub pena  
mortis standum est isti determinacioni pape et univer-  
5 salis ecclesie; sed ipse determinat, quod substantia  
panis non remanet, sed quod sacramentum altaris sit  
accidens sine subiecto; igitur standum est isti decreto.  
Si enim in lege veteri fideles debent summo sacerdoti  
adeo obedire, multo magis in nova lege, quando plus  
10 debent esse obediencie filii. Sed Deuteronomii XVII<sup>o</sup> do-  
Deut. cetur: "Si ortum fuerit ambiguum inter iudices, refera-  
XVII, tur ad sacerdotes; si non steterit sacerdotis iudicio  
8—12 morte moriatur." Hic dicitur, quod illi qui preponderant  
istud dictum nimis cecantur, iudaisantes et intendentes  
15 destruccione. Pro quo declarando noto primo quod  
dicta contencio inter iudices non fuit de fide immediate,  
sed de iudicio seculari, ut de accusacione vel alio  
simili: quia blasphemus, ut patet in eodem capitulo, de-  
buit lapidari. Noto secundo, quod patens diversitas est  
20 inter hanc legem cerimonialem veteris testamenti et legem  
B 102<sup>b</sup> gracie, cum summus sacerdos debuit secundum | legem  
Luc. Judaycam vel divinum oraculum iudicare. In lege autem  
XII, gracie est omnino oppositum, cum Christus Luc. XXII<sup>o</sup>  
13, 14 aufugit tale iudicium; et apostoli in causa blasphemie  
25 vel fidei scripture non habuerunt istum modum. Papa  
autem constituit sibi leges novellas secundum quas  
iudicat. Noto tercio quod quantum ad materiam fidei  
A 95<sup>a</sup> vel secularia iudicia, non | recurret tota ecclesia ad Ro-  
manum pontificem; tum quia est infundabile, tum etiam  
30 quia careret ut plurimum racione; magna enim pars  
Christianismi requireret terminacionem iudicii, antequam  
veniretur ad Romanum pontificem, et illuc deven-  
turus, sunt multi propius qui melius deciderent tales causas:  
K. ideo sic iudaisantes nimis artarent Christianisnum. Sed  
35 supposito quod causa ista de eukaristia devoluta fuerit  
ad Romanum pontificem, patet quod hucusque per  
ipsum vel suos, non est decisum, ut hic assumitur.

Another objection: We must obey the Pope; now he has decided that the substance of bread does not remain.

Answer: This objection, taken from the Old Testament, is Judaical in spirit.

<sup>1st</sup> The text refers only to secular matters.

<sup>2nd</sup> We are not now under the ceremonial law, but the law of grace.

Christ refused to judge between two adversaries.

Why should the whole world recur to the Pope?

It would often be long to wait for his judgment.

4. est *deest* BCD. 14. necantur B; *ib.* intelligentes B. 22. iudai- cum D. 23. XXII<sup>o</sup> ACD. 24. tale C. 35. fuit B.

1. I have left this quotation as it stands, not having been able to trace it to St. Jerome. Of course it is perverted from Horace, Ep. l. II, 1, 115—6. . . . Quod medicorum est Pro-mittunt medici; tractant fabrilis fabri.

Supposing that  
this matter  
were laid before  
the Pope, he can  
judge only  
according to  
the Bible or by  
revelation.

The faithful  
need fear  
nothing in this  
point, and may  
await a general  
council.

Innocent would  
have done better  
to let the  
matter alone.

Before he  
meddled, the  
Host was  
adored as God-  
bearing bread.  
After, many  
heresies arose,  
and much  
idolatry.

Better to have  
kept to Pope  
Nicolas'  
definition.  
Horrible  
heresy: the  
sacramental  
bread and wine  
are in their  
nature of less  
worth than  
rats' food and  
poison.

These are  
fictions like  
that of Death  
or Fever  
personified.

Unde posito per impossibile, quod tota ista materia sit  
posita in suo iudicio, patet quod ipse non habet pote-  
statem decidendi unum aliud, nisi ut ex scriptura sacra  
vel revelacione notoria sibi fuerit intimatum; ad quo-  
rum utrumque ex multis diebus inter multos episcopos 5  
est ineptus.

Ideo quantum ad eukaristiam, debet fidelis in fide  
scripture quiescere et ortis aliis questionibus vel omnino  
pausando ipsas abicere vel in generali concilio ecclesie  
responsum spiritus sancti expetere. Unde consonum foret 10  
dictum Innocencium III<sup>o</sup> multas leges quas condidit et  
specialiter multa dicta sua de eukaristia | omisisse; B 102<sup>c</sup>  
nichil enim diffinit ex ratione vel fide scripture, sed  
dicitur multa posuisse tanquam legifer Christo contra-  
rius, ut patet in lege "*Omnis utriusque sexus*", cum 15  
sibi similibus, in qua nichil auctoritatis vel rationis  
miscetur, sed zizania seminatur ad dissensionem et illi-  
bertatem ecclesie; ut patet ex fructibus huius legis. Et  
sic in materia de sacramento eukaristie |, antequam A 95<sup>b</sup>  
ipse posuit impossibiliter accidencia esse sine subiecto, 20  
cum aliis sibi ambiguis, bene stetit ecclesia, colendo  
hoc sacramentum ut panem deiferum, et quodammodo  
corpus Christi. Et ex post decrevit continue ydolatraram  
devocio et multiplicabantur hereses circa materiam de  
quidditate hostie, sic quod maior pars sibi intendencium 25  
in fide fluctuat. Ideo non dubium melius fuisset ipsum L.  
declarasse legem scripture de eukaristia et legem bene-  
dictam Nicolai III<sup>i</sup> De consecracione distincione 2<sup>a</sup>.  
"*Ego Berengarius*"; tunc enim non horruisset ecclesia  
occidua de ista heresi seminata, quod sacramentum 30  
altaris est panis, sed in natura inperfeccior pane ra-  
tonis; et sacramentum calicis est vinum, sed in natura  
sua inperfeccius quam venenum; multi namque fideles  
asserunt, quod si scirent hoc esse verum, nunquam  
celebrarent vel acciperent sacramentum. Ideo ad nichil 35  
videtur valere hec infundabilis heresis seminata, nisi ad  
negandum sensum et principium per se notum, ac dif-  
ficultandum ecclesiam que prius fuit libera circa in-  
possibilia que secuntur. Sic enim terrentur layci, quod  
mors sit quidam invidus | vadens villatim cum lancea, B 102<sup>d</sup>

2. posita deest B. 28. 2<sup>a</sup> deest C. 30. accidua D. 37. ac ad CD.

15. Decr. Greg. I. V, tit. 38, c. 12.



cuius ictus nullus potest aufugere; sicut febris est unum per se existens, quod infirmos exagitat; sicut poterit corpus inanimatum aut mortuum etiam ipsum accidens infirmare. Sed procul a fidelibus tales in-  
5 sanie!

A 95<sup>e</sup> Nec est putandum quod | universalis ecclesia militans sit decepta hac heresi, sicut nunc ecclesia nostra occidua, in qua sunt multi maniacy; cum deus reliquit sibi milia qui non curvaverunt genua sua ydolatre ad  
10 sacramentum accidendium per se existencium. Et patet nuditas dicencium quod opinio sua sit determinacio M. universalis ecclesie; ad quod solum adducunt illud primi decretalium capitulo "*firmiter*" quod panis et vinum transsubstantiantur in corpus Christi et sanguinem; et  
15 sic ex cautela dyaboli venenum heresis sub novello nomine transsubstantiacionis introducit. Sed oportet fidelem, ut dictum est, per transsubstantiacionem novellam ecclesiam intelligere conversionem, ut loquitur beatus Ambrosius et alii sancti de millenario Christi.

20 Nec est recurrendum in diffinizione fidei ad Romanum pontificem, nisi notorie deus dederit sibi supereminentem noticiam scripture; sed habemus super-  
substantiali pontificem dominum Jesum Christum, cuius instinctibus et testimonio debemus intendere et  
25 non super Romanum pontificem omnes causas ecclesie cumulare; quia tunc foret indubie non Christi vicarius, sed integer Antichristus, cum auferret a temporalibus dominis suum seculare dominium et civilibus iudiciis sententiam iuris sui; cum Magog sentenciat quod in

B 103<sup>a</sup> omnibus iudiciis ubi est orta contencio | stabitur finaliter sub pena mortis suo decreto; quo dato conquereret in brevibus cuncta regna et iudicans in illo quod nescit, destrueret papam alium; et e converso. Et patet

A 95<sup>d</sup> locus a simili | de obediendo Romano pontifici, quia  
35 sic obediendum fuit summo sacerdoti in lege veteri, claudicat in duobus: primo, quia non fundatur in scriptura quod quicumque Romanus pontifex sit caput universalis ecclesie militantis, sicut fundatur de summo sacerdotio Aaron et sui seminis; secundo, quia non  
40 taxatur in scriptura pena obviandium decretis papalibus; sed Christus, Petrus et alii paciendū in novo testamento docuerunt contrarium fieri pro tempore legis nove.

All are not deceived however; thousands have not bowed the knee before Baal. To say that the opinion of a sect is the Church's decision is barefaced impudence.

In matters of faith, the Roman Pontiff should not be consulted, unless he has studied Scripture deeply. Christ is our Supreme Pontiff whom if we set aside for the Pope, we make of the latter an Antichrist.

The analogy with the Jewish Priesthood, faulty:

1<sup>st</sup> Not every Roman Pontiff is head of the Church, like Aaron and his successors. 2<sup>nd</sup> Scripture assigns no penalty to those who do not obey his decrees.

3<sup>rd</sup> Objection:  
The possibility  
of absolute  
accidents,  
upheld for  
more than  
100 years,  
should not be  
denied.  
Answer:  
Augustine  
expressly  
denies it.

The gloss  
says that his  
words mean  
natural  
possibility; but  
he surely meant  
what he said,  
and no less.

If you tamper  
with his words,  
we retaliate.

You make him  
say: Accidents  
must have a  
subject, i. e.  
naturally; we  
make the Pope  
say: 'Accidents  
can do without  
a subject, i. e.  
a subject which  
is actually in  
our thought.

100 years are  
nothing, if we  
think of the  
ages before the  
birth of this  
theory.

We need take  
no account of  
these erring and  
self-  
contradicting  
doctors,

Sed tercio obicitur per hoc quod remanencia acci-  
dencium sine substrata substantia est pōssibilis, ut patet  
per Innocencium III<sup>m</sup> capitulo "Cum Marthe" et con-  
sona ac testificata per centum annos et amplius veri-  
ficari in sacramento altaris; igitur hoc non est simpli-  
citer negandum. Hic dicitur, ut sepe alias, quod falsum  
assumitur, cum Augustinus cum philosophis sepe dicit  
ut per se notum, quod accidens non possit esse sine  
subiecto; ideo mirificare hoc sacramentum cum tanto  
mendacio et sine ratione foret in deum blasphemare. Et  
quantum ad glosam Augustini qua dicitur ipsum intel-  
ligere hoc non posse fieri per naturam, patet quod  
nimis leviter glosant, cum tam sanctus et tam subtilis  
logicus habens in ita recenti memoria totam veritatem  
credendam de eukaristia in dicto suo illud exciperet,  
cum amplissime loquitur de divina potencia et genera-  
liter vocat sacramentum panem, aut corpus Christi et  
nullibi accidens. Ideo ut sepe dixi, si isti ita perfunc-  
torie glosant Augustinum, licet nobis pertinencius glo-  
sare Innocencium et alia dicta doctorum que videntur  
sonare accidens in sacramento esse sine subiecto; hoc  
est quod sit sine subiecto in actuali consideracione  
fidelium, quo ad suam quidditatem specificatam; quia  
constat, quod alius sensus fictus non est pertinens fidei.  
Ideo dicit logicus deridendo quod sicut ipsi glosant  
Augustinum, quod accidens non potest esse sine subiecto  
naturaliter, sic illi glosantur quod accidens potest esse  
sine subiecto impossibiliter, si deus voluerit et non  
possibiliter; nec est color amplior in fundacione glose  
sue quam in nostra.

Et quantum ad doctores qui videntur testificari istam O.  
sentenciam centum annis et amplius, patet quod nimis  
levis est evidenciam, cum per tantum tempus tante fuerunt  
maiores hereses de symonia, apostasia et blasfemia.  
Quid igitur nobis, si illi doctores cum sectis suis tam  
diu erraverant? Nec oportet sollicitari in glosis eorum,  
cum ipsi nimis sinistre glosant Augustinum cum aliis  
sanctis in ista materia. Sed quia contradicunt sibi  
ipsis, nec adducunt rationes vel scripturam pro sua  
sentencia, testatur, quod eorum testificacio est inepta.  
Nec est diffiniendum quod aliquis eorum moriebatur in

9. verificare ABD. 20. qui AD. 23. specificatam struck out;  
specificam A. 27, 28. naturaliter — subiecto deest BCD. 28, 29. si —  
possibiliter deest D. 38. quod BCD.



hac heresi, nisi forte apud illum, cui hoc fuerit revelatum. Unum tamen scio, quod isti doctores cum sectis suis meruerunt ratione erroris sui in religione Christiana plus seduci. Ideo catholicus adduceret rationes eorum  
 B 103<sup>e</sup> et taceret sua testimonia, cum nimirum sint | inepta.

A 96<sup>b</sup> Sed supposito | per impossibile Innocencium III<sup>m</sup> decrevisse quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens sine subiecto; manifestum est quod nec sibi credendum esset in isto, cum contrarius sanctis doctoribus fingeret hoc

10 sine fundamento. Nec ex hoc convincitur error universalis ecclesie, cum maniaci blaterant quod non sit ecclesia, nisi quam ipsi rexerint; sicut filie Loth crediderant non superesse hominem superstitem preter ipsum.

Nam eo ipso quo hoc finxerint, forent nimis alieni a  
 15 sancta ecclesia; nec est credibile, quod ipsi tam diu P. in isto erraverant, cum maiores errores per tantum temporis comiserunt. Ideo quod spiritus sanctus assistat eis protegens ne errent in fide scripture, est leve dictum et infundabile, cum omne mortale habeant hunc

20 errorem diucius. Igitur errarunt in materia de civili dominio clericis cumulado. Ideo non mirum si, correspondenter ad istud accidens quod est de adiacencia temporalium, errent profundius in alio accidente: et ita generaliter quicquid decreverint extra fidem scripture,  
 25 est eo suspensus de falsitate. Ideo, ut sepe dixi, foret ipsis utile tenere se in suis limitibus, ne constituent huiusmodi infundabiles novitates, quia per hoc difficultant et illibitant ecclesiam, nec inducunt utilitatem aliam.

Quod si fingunt mirabilitatem eucharistie, dicant consonantius quod remanet panis substantia, et omnia  
 30 illa accidentia sine eius informacione; vel dicant (ut A 96<sup>e</sup> videtur | Wymundum dicere) quod non | est fraccio vel  
 B 103<sup>d</sup>

nor can we know whether they died in their heresy.

Returning to Innocent's decree, Wyclif denies its authority.

These doctors, like Lot's daughters, fancy that they are alone in the world.

I. No proof that the Holy Spirit assists them.

II. Proof that He does not: they have erred as to civil lordship; they may err yet more in this question.

Let them keep within bounds.

If they want a miracle in the Eucharist, they may take our opinion, or that of Guitmundus who makes all an illusion.

4. catholicis AB. 19. habeant deest BCD.

19. *Habeant* makes no sense and is not in the other MSS. I have left it however, as there is nothing to gain by striking it out. It would seem there is a lacuna here, without which *igitur* in the next sentence can hardly be accounted for. 31. This is Wyclif's doctrine, which he states to be even more wonderful than the others; for he admits the double presence of Christ and bread. As will be seen further, though Christ is there figuratively, He is there really also. 32. Guitmundus, in his zeal against Berengarius, goes so far as to deny that the Host can be touched by mice, digested, &c., saying that it is an illusion, and that Christ's body is taken away by angels. See Migne, t. 149, p. 1448, 1449.

pudenda mocio eukaristie, sed sensus illusio per spiritum in medio. Et quando videtur sacramentum comburi vel digeri, insensibili celeritate defertur in celum per angelos, et aliud corpus, ut hostia non consecrata, per angelos bonos — vel malos? — insensibiliter ministratur. 5  
 Nec possunt potius fundare suam sententiam vel reprobare iam fictam, quam infinitas alias simulatas. Ideo, ut sepe dixi, omnes tales ficticie, quia sunt in scriptura infundabiles, fluctuant in incerto. Et patet quod dyabolus instigat ad hanc heresim ex superba 10 manifestacione potestatis sue super suos discipulos, ut corpus Christi irreverenter concedatur esse unum nichil vel abiectissima creatura; et secundo, ut frustra super mendaci fantasia difficultetur ecclesia, que secundum ordinationem Christi secundum scolam levem debet esse 15 libera; sed dominus precluit scole dyaboli rationis testimonium et scripture; ymo, fecit quod tam sensus quam ratio, quam legis testificacio, foret contraria huic vie; et tercio fecit discipulos scole dyaboli in isto sibi met repugnare. Nam, ut notant quidam, antequam secte 20 iste suborte sunt non errabatur sic de hostie quidditate.  
 Et cum hoc presagio duro difficultati sunt status ecclesie, ut iam dicitur pape adiacere civiliter tantum de Romano imperio, quantum sufficeret | multis regnis; et A 96<sup>d</sup> super hoc inordinate spoliatur multas ecclesias. Inordinate 25 dico, quia apostatice | vendicat ista ex universalitate sui B 104<sup>a</sup> domini, et tum ubi secundum istum titulum caperet ubi forent bona sua magis vacancia, rapit de pauperibus, quia ipsos promovet, ubi est patencior symonia.  
 Et sic est de rapinis sacrilegis inferiorum membrorum 30 dyaboli; nam magister eorum suggerit quod status eorum omnino exigit, quod oportet eis tot temporalia adiacere; et indubie de tanto deficit in eis Christi officium, et docentur de tanto secundum scolam dyaboli defendere antichristum; et illud docma nimis perturbat 35 ecclesiam. Sicut enim foret nimis hereticum defendere, quod corpus Christi proprium sit accidens sine subiecto, sic foret modo hereticum defendere, quod Christi vicarius, caput ecclesie et corpus Christi misticum foret in officio civilis adiacencie temporalium. Sicut enim 40 omne accidens oportet habere maioris permanencie substratum subiectum, sic oportet omne membrum  
 V. g., when the Sacrament seems to be burnt, angels put a wafer instead of Christ's body.  
 The Devil invented this theory to degrade Christ's body,  
 and bring difficulties on the Church.  
 But God has set reason and Scripture against him, and his own disciples against each other.  
 Another invention of Hell: the Pope's temporal power.  
 An inordinate pretension.  
 Thence comes the sacrilegious rapine of lesser officials, who also fancy that their position requires temporalities.  
 This heresy resembles that of the accidents; Christ's members require a better support than the accidents of riches.



Christi pro adiacencia temporalium habere causaliter  
precedens dignius Christi officium.

- R. Unde notari debet prepositis, cum quam parvis tempo-  
ralibus apostoli solemniter executi sunt ecclesiasticum  
5 ministerium, et secundum formam eorum debent dimi-  
nuere in temporalibus et in profectibus spiritualibus  
adaugere; scientes indubie quod scola antichristi et  
principis huius mundi est omnino contraria. In cuius  
signum illaqueat suos cum perplexitatibus temporalium  
A 97<sup>a</sup> et subtrahens | a cultu divino, sicut ducit eos ad  
cruciatum langwidum infinitum, sic propinat eis poculum  
infundabile cupiditatis temporalium insaciabiliter siti-  
bundum.

- Questiones autem infinite sunt de quidditate eukaristie,  
15 si sit accidens sine subiecto; sed videtur michi potissime  
quod foret locus aut vacuum, tempus vel ewum. Nam  
B 104<sup>a</sup> si aliquod accidens | foret sine subiecto, potissime  
foret locus, quia ille videtur naturaliter presupponi  
ad materialem substanciam; et cum potissime subiecta-  
20 retur in illa, videtur quod pro illo gradu prioritatis  
nature foret sine subiecto, sicut Augustinus dicit  
primam materiam esse informem; sed hec evidencia  
est vacua a ratione, cum iste mundus sensibilis  
presupponitur ad locum, ut eius subiectum: quod si  
25 foret per impossibile alius mundus, foret alius locus;  
nec pars mundi posset annihilari, servato residuo  
in loco suo. Cum autem, secundum Aristotelem, locus  
est ultimum corporis continentis immobile primum;  
sacramentum autem non est ultimum corporis conti-  
30 nentis, sed potius foret unum vacuum in ultimo  
corporis continentis, nec aliqua eius pars haberet locum  
sibi adequatum; manifeste videtur quod non sit locus,  
nec quelibet pars sacramenti. Si non est pars corporis,  
non habet ultimum corporis, quod sit locus. Et sic si  
35 ad omnem punctum sui intrinsecum non foret locus,  
sacramentum secundum se totum nec esset locus nec

Prelates should remember the example of the apostles, and think how contrary the school of Antichrist is to that: The Devil catches them by temporal things and crusades.

Space or time would be absolute accidents, if any could be so.

For space seems to precede, not follow, material substance.

Still place is impossible without the world, its subject.

Place, according to Aristotle, is the limit of the containing body; if the sacrament is not a body, place cannot be predicated of it.

So it would be nowhere.

10. ducit *deest* B. 12. capitis AB; cupitis CD. 16. ewangelium B; *corr.* A. 18. presupposicione AB. 30. in ultimi ACD; ultimum B. 31. alia BCD; *corr.* A.

11. These three words serve to mark very exactly the date at which this work was written. The Crusade in Flanders had not yet come to its disastrous end, but was very near it. See *Introduction*. 21. Aug. Conf. l. XII, c. VII, VIII. Migne, t. 32, p. 828, 829. 27. Arist. ed. Didot, t. II, p. 290, l. 39.

locatum; non enim est per eukaristiam materia informis,  
 nec elementum, nec aliqua extensa substantia. Et S.  
 quantum ad rationem immo | bilis, patet quod illud A 97<sup>b</sup>  
 sacramentum moveri potest quadruplici motu locali, et  
 multipliciter alterari. Ideo, vel omne locatum est locus, 5  
 vel eukaristia non est locus.

Quod autem sit tempus vel ewum videtur ex hoc  
 quod, ut dicitur, est quantitas successiva, que non est  
 nisi tempus; et iterum tempus videtur non dependere  
 a subiecto, quia nec a mundo nec a parte eius, cum 10  
 ut fingitur, deus potest in ista hora sepe destruere  
 istum | mundum, sicut potest servare totum genus sub-B 104<sup>a</sup>  
 stancie destructo quocunque accidente preter ewum;  
 cum quo posito de possibili quod habeamus sacramentum  
 altaris, relinquatur eis ponere quod sit ewum: quod est 15

manifeste falsum, cum nec tempus nec ewum sit corpo-  
 raliter visibile nec palpabile, cuiusmodi est indubie  
 sacramentum altaris.

Ideo relicta hac ficta heresi, quod sacramentum  
 altaris sit accidens sine subiecto, teneamus antiquam 20  
 fidem quod sacramentum sit naturaliter terrena sub-  
 stantia et sacramentaliter corpus Christi. Ad quod, ut  
 sacerdotes et alii simplices habeant plus parate evi-  
 denciam, sic arguo: Istis mille annis et amplius fuit  
 hostia oblata in missa *terrena substantia*, ut patet in 25

secreta medie misse diei natalis domini et secreta  
 ferie 4<sup>e</sup> quatuor temporum in septembri. Sed eadem  
 oblata fuit consecranda et facienda corpus Christi ac  
 sacramentum altaris; ut patet in canone misse, immediate  
 ante verba consecrationis, ubi rite orat ecclesia quod 30  
 hec oblacio | "fiat corpus domini nostri Jesu Christi": A 97<sup>e</sup>  
 igitur conclusio vera. Nec valet infamis ficticia qua  
 primo dicitur quod hoc accidens quod est sine subiecto  
 sit terrena substantia, quia coloracius diceretur, quod  
 quodlibet corpus sensibile sit accidens sine subiecto, 35  
 cum deus tunc plus compendiose et miraculose con-  
 stitueret mundi fabricam. Et quantum ad illud Genes.  
 primo: "In principio deus creavit celum et terram"  
 cum omnibus eis similibus que sonant substantiam,  
 diceret hec glosa blasfemia quod intelligit per ista | B 104<sup>a</sup>  
 nomina accidens sine subiecto. Et eodem modo irridetur  
 secunda blasfemia, qua dicitur quod hostia oblata, que

Besides, place  
 is immovable;  
 not so the  
 Host.

It ought to be  
 time, for time,  
 without subject,  
 depends neither  
 on the world  
 nor on any  
 part of it. And  
 any other  
 accident has  
 been proved  
 impossible.

But time is not  
 visible nor  
 tangible; the  
 Host is both.

Let us therefore  
 leave this  
 heresy, and  
 cleave to the  
 old faith.

Argument in  
 its favour for  
 the simple.

For 1000 years  
 a *terrestrial*  
 substance was  
 offered in the  
 Mass.

And this  
 substance was  
 made Christ's  
 body.

Now we cannot  
 possibly call an  
 absolute  
 accident a  
*terrestrial*  
 substance.

It would be as  
 well to gloss  
 Genesis, and  
 call Heaven  
 and Earth an  
 absolute  
 accident.



est terrena substantia, non potest expectare consecra- Nor is it true  
 tionem, sed desinit esse in consecratione secundum <sup>that this</sup>  
 quamlibet sui partem; quia frustra et stulte oraret <sup>substance fails</sup>  
 ecclesia, ut illa substantia fieret corpus Christi. Quia <sup>at the words of</sup>  
 5 non est supponenda in sanctis doctoribus tanta logice <sup>consecration;</sup>  
 ignorancia, ut dicant vel deum vel sacerdotem facere <sup>the Church pray</sup>  
 aliquid corpus Christi, quod non potest esse illud corpus, <sup>for it to become</sup>  
 nec pro illo tempore erit quidquam. Et hec ratio <sup>Christ's body?</sup>  
 quietaret fideles.

g. Here is written in Bohemian on the MS. marked C: Opraw  
 tho mnyssku (i. e. Improve upon that, monk!).

## CAPITULUM QUATUORDECIMUM.

In presence of  
evasions,  
wresting of  
testimonies, and  
bravadoes as to  
the strength of  
the opposite  
arguments,  
Wyclif reasons  
thus:

What the  
sacramental  
bread is after,  
it was before  
consecration.

By 'sacramental  
bread' we mean  
that which the  
priest is seen  
to hold after  
the  
consecration.  
And this had  
certainly the  
nature of bread  
before  
consecration, as  
much as after.

So the same  
"hoc" which is  
after, was  
natural bread  
before.

Sed ulterius, quia maior pars sociorum claudicat in  
dicendo quid sit sacramentum altaris, nec adducunt  
testimonia valida, vel probant, quod aliquod sit accidens  
sine subiecto, sed examinant testes particulatim, nunc 5  
de illis que sunt per se nota fidelibus, nunc de dubi-  
tatione de rebus citra fidem assertis, et nunc de aliis  
sinistre conceptis; glorienturque in argumentis, quod  
volunt unicuique satisfacere pro sua sententia: ideo, ut  
materia | fidei sit nocior, arguo sic pro parte veritatis A 97<sup>4</sup>  
fidei. Omne quod est panis sacramentalis post eius  
consecrationem fuit ille panis ante consecrationem; sed  
solum corpus Christi est ille panis sacramentalis post  
eius consecrationem: igitur idem corpus Christi fuit  
ille panis ante eius consecrationem. Consequens impro- 15  
bitur et consequentia supponitur; pro noticia vero  
quid nominis suppono, quod per panem sacramentalem  
intelligatur illud sensibile quod sacerdos post consecra-  
cionem tractat in manibus et videtur a fidelibus oculo  
corporali. Sic enim vocatur hoc sacramentum ab ecclesia 20  
et | a sanctis doctoribus panis sanctus. Secundo, suppono B 105<sup>a</sup>  
quod omnis huiusmodi panis sacramentalis habuit esse  
panis eciam temporaliter prius quam ille panis fuit  
consecratus; istud conceditur concorditer, tam ab illis  
qui concedunt panem illum esse accidens sine subiecto, 25  
quam ecclesia ab illis qui concedunt panem illum esse  
terrenam substanciam. Nam eque fuit panis ante con-  
secrationem sui sicut post. Ideo dicit Ambrosius in De  
sacramentis," et ponitur in De consecratione 2<sup>a</sup>, capitulo,

i. capitulum *deest omnes MSS.* 6. non B, *corr.* A. 7. de rebus  
*deest omnes MSS.*; *ib.* assertis BCD. 10. sit *deest* D. 12-14. sed —  
consecrationem *deest* BCD. 19. oculo *deest* B. 25, 26. accidens —  
esse *deest* BCD. 29. de consecratione distinctione CD.

26. *Ecclesia*, perhaps a mistake for *eciam*. As it stands, it  
has no sense. 28. Decr. Grat, 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, Dist. II, c. 55.



*Panis est in altari:* "Quod," inquit, "erat panis ante consecracionem iam corpus Christi est post consecracionem"; et loquitur de substantia panis indubie. Et prima pars antecedentis probatur tripliciter. Primo sic: 5 Solum "hoc", demonstrando essenciam illius sacramenti, est panis sacramentalis, ut hic supponitur; et hoc idem fuit ille panis ante dictam consecracionem; igitur maior vera.

Ambrose says: what was bread before, is Christ's body after.

B. Similiter, iuxta opinantes contrarie, eadem res in 10 numero posset una vice esse unica res et alia vice res A 98' quaecunque differentes in specie, non ut partes eius quantitative aut qualitative, sed sicut complete sint singule earundem; sed hoc est impossibile: igitur impossibile est talem plurificacionem esse. Similiter, si 15 hoc sacramentum per consecracionem fit et sic corpus Christi, tunc in corpore Christi subiectatur quodlibet istorum accidentium, quia in hoc sacramento et ipsum est corpus Christi; et per consequens nullum istorum accidentium est sine subiecto, quia non est sine corpore

It is impossible for the same individual thing to be one at one time and anything else at another.

20 Christi quod subiectat eorum singulum, cum quodlibet eorum sit in corpore Christi, non ut pars eius, sed ut forma sibi accidentalis; cum idem corpus Christi potest remanere idem sacramentum, quocunque tali accidente remisso vel perduto. Et patet maior argumenti prin-

These accidents, if Christ's body is present, are not without a subject.

25 cipalis; minor autem secundum exposiciones communes B 105<sup>b</sup> duo implicat, scilicet quod corpus Christi sit ille panis post consecracionem et quod nichil aliud quam corpus Christi sit ille panis post consecracionem. Sed primam partem concedit maior pars doctorum, non solum quia 30 timent communitatem de inpeticione heresis, propter quam forent racionabiliter destruendi, verum quia fides scripture cum sanctis doctoribus confirmat illud concorditer; nam Veritas dicit panem esse corpus suum; beatus Ignacius dicit sacramentum esse corpus Christi, 35 ut recitat Lincolniensis super ecclesiastica ierarchia capitulo 30. Et idem dicit Augustinus, epistola 14 ad Bonifacium, et alii sancti concorditer. Sed et socii mei multiplicant ad hoc testimonia, quod concedunt quo C. ad secundam partem exclusive. Videtur quod sequitur:

If so, the body of Christ, being the substance to which the accidents of bread belong, is bread.

All doctors admit that Christ's body is the Sacramental bread.

12. sit ACD. 15. sic pro sit AB. 16. iam pro in CD. 27, 28. et — consecracionem deest BCD. 32. confirmant AB.

34. Ignatius, t. 5, p. 699, of Migne (*series graeca*). 37. Aug. Ep. ad Bonifacium, Migne, t. 33, p. 364.

It seems to follow that it is nothing else.

The bread becomes Christ's body; so nothing else remains.

It is impossible to have two separate bodies which are yet only one.

These reasons seem to be against my position.

But I say that Christ's body is present in figure;

whereas my adversaries say that it is present in substance.

They deny that bread can figure Christ's body, but how can an accident?

According to Scripture, what Christ pointed to (*hoc*) was Christ's body; now, Christ pointed to natural bread.

panis ille nichil est nisi unum, sic quod non multorum distinctorum in genere singulum et per consequens panis sacramentalis, cum sit corpus Christi, videtur quod non sit aliquid aliud. Similiter | si aliud quam A 98<sup>b</sup> corpus Christi sit ille panis sacramentalis, potissime 5 foret natura eiusdem panis; sed ipsa est corpus Christi, sicut et ille panis: igitur ipsum non est aliud quam corpus Christi. Similiter tunc esset possibile idem corpus in numero esse univoce duo corpora non communicancia, et per consequens reciperet secundum illa 10 predicationes quantumcunque contrarias; quod negant doctores de sacramento altaris, ut autor De divinis officiis negat quod sacramentum est duo corpora, sed unum tantum. Alii autem negant quod est duo panes, sed unus tantum; et per idem corpus Christi foret 15 infiniti panes quantumcunque differentes, et singulus eorum, et tamen apostolus dicit 1<sup>a</sup> Cor. 10: "Unus panis et unum corpus multi sumus." I. Cor. X, 17

Sed replicatur per hoc quod multe istarum rationum | B 105<sup>a</sup> videntur eque procedere contra fidem quam ego teneo; 20 D. meum igitur est respondere ad illa. Sed nimis leviter replicatur; nam ego pono equivocacionem secundum quam solum possunt solvi rationes predictae. Et illam equivocacionem abhorrent adversarii tanquam hereticam, ut ego dico quod panis ille est corpus Christi, non 25 ydemptice, secundum suam substantiam vel naturam, sed tropice secundum excellenciam cuiusdam figure sacramentalis. Adversarii autem dicunt quod sacramentum istud est in natura sua corpus Christi, subducta figura. Ideo cum non contentantur de isto et responsione 30 sequenti, illis remanet alia solucio declarativa, quomodo illud abiectum accidens sit tam venerabile | corpus A 98<sup>b</sup> Christi, non panis triticeus, vel corpus Christi per verba sacramentalia superfusa; quia talem panem Christus accepit in manibus et de illo dixit: "hoc est corpus 35 meum", ut dicit Ambrosius, et nunquam de monstruoso accidente quod fingitur; illum autem panem dicit scriptura non esse naturaliter vel substantialiter, sed sacramentaliter corpus Christi.

Item nichil est fingendum in articulis fidei sine 40 auctoritate scripture; sed articulus fidei est quod demonstratum a Christo in tali proposicione sacramentali:

33. nam *pro* non omnes MSS.



"Hoc est corpus meum," sit corpus Christi; igitur, non est fingendum in tali propositione sacramentali aliquid demonstratum, nisi ex auctoritate scripture. Sed non patet ex auctoritate scripture quod demon-  
 5 stratum sit accidens sine subiecto, et sic corpus Christi: igitur non est ponendum in hoc articulo fidei; maior patet ex hoc, quod aliter posset fingi nova fides totaliter  
 B 105<sup>a</sup> et antiqua penitus aboleri; et minor | patet ex hoc quod Christus sic dicit ad edificacionem fidei ecclesie;  
 10 et concordant doctores, tam veteres quam novelli.

Uterius patet negativa assumpta ex hoc, quod nullibi in scriptura docetur, nec testantur sancti doctores, quod demonstratur pronomine accidens sine subiecto.

An accident is not what is pointed to, but the underlying substance.

E. Ex quo videtur quod non est intencionis fidei dicere  
 15 quod illud sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto. Si enim illud sacramentum, virtute verborum sacramentalium, sit factum corpus Christi, plus verisimile foret, quod illud pro nomine demonstraretur. Et inconueniens videtur quod sacerdos faciat accidens huiusmodi deum

20 suum, quia non posset hoc nisi haberet auctoritatem a Christo; et per consequens ista auctoritas innotescenda est ecclesie, ne blasfemet. Sicut igitur fingitur tale accidens esse sine subiecto, sic fingitur quod Christus dedit potestatem faciendi tale accidens corpus suum; et

All is fiction in the contrary theory, to the very possibility of an absolute accident.

25 hoc sine fundamento. Non enim sonat in pietatem vel religionem, quod tale accidens sit corpus Christi, quia ut patet in materia De incarnatione, ipsum corpus est Christus, et sic deus; aliter enim Christus non iacuisset in sepulchro, nec descendisset ad inferos, ymo ut loquar

It is impious to say that Christ's body is an accident; for then it would be merely a vain appearance.

30 populo, aliter nulla persona videret deum suum, nec ipsum manducaret in eucharistia; magnum igitur testimonium fidelis requireret antequam crederet tam abiectam rem esse deum, ne sit infideli deterior, cum ydolatre plus honorificant deos suos. Et probabiliter

35 creditur quod Christus non potuit esse alia natura quam rationalis, que sit particeps sue beatitudinis, B 106<sup>a</sup> quia aliter deus | foret imperfeccior homine. Omnes igitur fideles insurgerent potencia et virtute concorditer in quoscunque qui facerent tale dedecus corpori Jesu Christi.

F. 40 Sed obicitur contra me idem inconueniens; nam secundum me panis inanimatus imperfeccior serpente fit

Retort: I am as impious, saying that bread is Christ's body;

11. asserta (?) A. 33. deum suum CD. 34. ydolatrie D.

27. Wyclif, *De Benedicta Incarnacione*, c. III and IV especially.

a God more  
imperfect than  
a plant.

Answer: it is  
Christ only in  
sign, as a  
painting.

Bread, in its  
nature less  
perfect, is as a  
sacrament  
infinitely more  
so than a plant.

It is God  
sacramentaliter.  
Thus the priest  
does not  
produce  
Christ's natural,  
but His  
sacramental  
esse.

The  
expressions  
used by Saints  
should be  
understood of  
the miraculous  
sacramental  
esse produced.

As for the  
reasons to the  
contrary:  
1<sup>st</sup> It does not  
follow that on  
breaking or  
burning the  
Host, Christ's  
body is thus  
treated; so even  
if the priest  
made the  
bread, he would  
not make  
Christ's body.

sacramentaliter corpus Christi et per consequens sacer-  
dos celebrando facit sibi deum abiecciolem planta:  
quod foret inconueniens | nisi pictor fingeret ymaginem A 99<sup>a</sup>  
quam fabricat esse deum. Hic dicitur, quod aduersarii  
multipliciter exuberant in inconuenientiis; quia ego 5  
dico quod panis infinitum perfeccior secundum suam  
naturam quam venenum sit illud sacramentum et quo-  
dammodo corpus Christi. Ipsi autem dicunt quod res  
infinitum inperfeccior quam venenum sit illud sacra-  
mentum, et sic ydemptice corpus Christi, cum sit cor- 10  
pus Christi in natura, ut inquit. Conceditur ergo  
quod panis consecratus est in natura sua inperfeccior  
planta, et tamen est infinitum perfeccius sacramentaliter  
quam planta, cum sit corpus Christi taliter: et sic  
deus. Et patet quod non sequitur aliquem fidelem 15  
facere sibi deum abiecciolem planta. Unde difficultas  
communis est utrum sacerdos celebrans facit corpus  
Christi; et videtur michi quod non, sed facit substantiam  
quam consecrat esse quodammodo corpus Christi et  
sanguinem. Sed quia hoc fit miraculose per verba do- 20  
mini, et sacerdos solum ministratorie concurrat, ideo  
dicitur solum conficere. Sunt tamen quedam dicta  
sanctorum et rationes sophistice, que videntur con-  
cludere corpus Christi fieri per verba sacramentalia. | B 106<sup>b</sup>  
Sed quantum ad dicta sanctorum, dicitur quod intelligunt 25 G.  
substantiam consecratam secundum rationem qua ipsa  
est corpus Christi, esse corpus Christi et confici a  
sacerdote, non secundum rationem qua absolute est  
corpus Christi, cum ipsum sit perpetuum et iterum  
infactibile; sed factum cadit super veritate miraculi, 30  
scilicet quod panis sanctificatus est | corpus Christi; A 99<sup>b</sup>  
hoc enim potest dici sacerdotem facere, sicut absoluit,  
dat spiritum sanctum et facit alia officia spiritualia  
sacerdotis. Rationes autem sunt multe; ut quidam  
replicant, si sacerdos facit hoc sacramentum, et hoc 35  
sacramentum est corpus Christi, tunc ipse facit corpus  
Christi. Et pro antecedente ponitur quod sacerdos  
celebrans prius fecerit panem quem conficit et post  
det sibi esse sacramentale. Sed ad istud dicitur quod  
sicut non sequitur: sacerdos videt oculo corporali hanc 40  
hostiam consecratam, frangit ipsam tractando manibus

6. suam *deest* BCD. 10. sic ydemptice *pro* quodammodo C; *corr.* A;  
sic non ydemptice B; sic sacramentaliter D. 22. deficere B. 27. con-  
ficetur B. 31. Christi *deest* CD.



et comburit, igitur sic alterat corpus Christi; ita non sequitur in proposito, licet sacerdos faciat hoc sacramentum faccione duplici, et ipsum est ad sensum equivocum corpus Christi, quod faciat propterea corpus Christi. Quando enim equivocatur in medio termino, deficit parallogismus.

H. Sed secundo obicitur per hoc quod est dare faccionem et transmutacionem realem quod Christus et sacerdos conficiunt in complecione istius sacramenti.

10 Sed non est fingendus terminus ad quem, nisi fuerit corpus Christi: igitur corpus Christi pertinenter terminat istam faccionem mirabilem; quod non foret nisi quodammodo ipsum fieret. Nam quod ipsum sacramentum

B 106<sup>a</sup> est corpus Christi | vel nichil est vel respectus. Hic

15 dicitur quod transsubstantiatio dicitur equivoce mutacio, in comparacione ad mutaciones alias naturales. Unde conceditur quod deus et sacerdos suus conficiunt hoc sacramentum et faciunt ipsum esse corpus Christi non ydemptice, | sed tropice; sed non faciunt ipsum corpus, 20 et faccio terminatur ad hoc esse corpus Christi, quod est respectivum et valde salubre fidelibus.

Sed tercio obicitur per hoc quod corpus Christi habet in sacramento esse tam reale, quod ipsum posset sic ibi esse cum hoc quod non esset alibi, quod non

25 foret nisi ibi generaretur. Sic enim dicit apostolus: "In Christo Jesu ego vos genui"; corpus ergo Christi

quod habet ibi esse tale spirituale sine hoc quod descendat e celo ad illum locum, oportet ibi fieri. Hic dicitur quod assumptum est impossibile; sicut enim

30 similitudo non est sine illo cuius est similitudo; sic esse sacramentale, quod habet corpus Christi in hostia, non potest esse sine esse dimensionali quod habet in

1. I. Cor. IV, 15  
celo. Et quantum ad dictum apostoli II<sup>a</sup> Cor. IV, patet

35 verbi dei et plantavit eos in orto ecclesie, sed deus illapsus per gratiam incrementum dedit; et sic habuerunt per apostolum quoddam esse spirituale in quo sunt geniti per gratiam viri qui est sponsus ecclesie; non tamen intelligi debet gracia, forma que posset per se 40 esse sine subiecto, cum sit, creaturam rationalem esse gratam deo, non sicut Pelagius grosse conceperat quod

B 106<sup>a</sup> homo potest salvari sine creata gracia informante. |

2<sup>nd</sup> Nor, because God and the priest work together in the Sacrament, is Christ's body made. Transsubstantiation is only improperly called a change. The new *esse* is but a new relation.

3<sup>rd</sup> We cannot suppose that the reality of Christ's *esse* is such that it nowhere else. He would be in the Sacrament, for then He would be there, not as He is in the souls of His faithful — i. e. spiritually — but in all His dimensions;

Nec oportet corpus Christi descendere de celo usque ad locum hostie; quia, ut patet ex dictis alibi, hereticum foret pertinaciter concedere, quod impossibile sit | ali- A 99<sup>d</sup> quid esse alicubi, ubi prius non fuit, nisi vel moveatur illuc, vel aliud convertatur in ipsum; corpus igitur Christi 5 quiescit in celo, nec movetur localiter nec alteratur, et multo evidencius non generatur propter hoc, quod noviter habet esse sacramentale in hostia consecrata. Item, si K. L. sacramentum altaris sit corpus Christi ydemptice vel aliter quam figurative, tunc ipsum vivit vita animali, et 10 posset ex se moveri et agere sicut homo; consequens contra autorem De divinis officiis et contra experimentum; quia quantumcunque hostia pungitur, comburitur vel inhonorifice tractatur, non plus movet se quam panis alius. Et cum corpus Christi mortale vivificatum per 15 animam aufugit hostes, ut patet in conversacione Christi, multo magis corpus Christi, tam gloriose vivificatum, mala huiusmodi declinaret. Non enim est ad meritum Christi vel sue ecclesie quod taliter paciatur.

Quod autem illa hostia vivat videtur, si sit ydemptice 20 corpus Christi; quia corpus Christi non est ibi exanime, cum gracia concomitancie multiplicantur omnia accidencia absoluta; igitur multo evidencius vita sua. Non igitur est hoc sacramentum corpus Christi mortuum, cum habet ad omnem eius punctum animam beatam 25 actuantem; illud autem foret nimis blasphemum, quia dyabolus non tantum cecavit ecclesiam, quin vident experimento certissimo quod hostia consecrata, | ex B 107<sup>a</sup> naturali inclinacione | dimissa, fit fetida et putrescens; A 100<sup>a</sup> quod non potest competere corpori domini sic dotato; 30 quia impossibile fuit corpus domini mortuum putrescere in sepulchro: ut patet Act. II<sup>o</sup> et psalmo XV. "Non dabis sanctum tuum videre corrupcionem." Et idem M. potest esse de sacramento calicis; potest enim servari in vase vitreo, quousque versum sit in acetum et venenum, 35 quod repugnat virtuti regitive sangwinis Jesu Christi.

Nec valet ficticia de actu exercito et signato. Ponunt enim doctores signorum, quod non est dare universalialia

Nominalist theory: Universals having no actual

5. igitur *deest* E. 26. minus AB. 27. quando B. 36. sanguis C.

3. The impossibility of a thing being where it was not before, unless either brought there, or changed (which Wyclif had to deny), is the great argument for Transsubstantiation. See Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.* qu. 75, art. II.



ex parte rei; ideo pro glozandis dictis philosophorum invenerunt hos terminos: ut quando philosophi dicunt, quod universalia sunt perpetua, ubique et semper, "hoc est verum" inquit, "non *in actu exercito*, sed *in actu signato*"; ut universalia, cum solum sunt termini vel conceptus quos non facimus, non habent in naturis suis huiusmodi passiones sed in *actu signato*, hoc est signata per talia universalia sic se habent: ut patet de substantia, quantitate et multis aliis signatis per terminos universales, sic inquit: "Panis sacramentalis non est in *actu exercito* corpus Christi, cum sit pure accidens longe plus distans in natura a corpore Christi, quam panis materialis; sed est corpus Christi in *actu signato*, hoc est, sacramentaliter signat corpus Christi."

15 Sed contra istud instatur, primo, per hoc, quod sacramentum foret solum signum vel figura corporis Christi; ut dicit Berengarius quod sic loquentes ponunt hereticum: Item, cum illud esse quo sacramentum

A 100<sup>b</sup> est | corpus Christi, non sit aliter ibi quam in signo, B 107<sup>b</sup> magnum | itaque foret inconveniens quod hec fides non N. sit detecta ecclesie. Item per idem quodcunque signatum quod deus instituit signari per signum vel terminum, communicaret vere nomen suum illi signo et per consequens sicut quilibet impositor potest facere signum,

25 signans sibi deum omnipotentem, qui creavit mundum ex nichilo, qui summe gubernat ecclesiam quam redemit et qui finaliter iudicabit seculum tanquam summus iudex. Et ut breviter dicatur, Jeremias nunquam copiosius replicavit

Bar. VI, 11 et seq. contra ydolatrias Egyptios (de quo Baruch VI), quin

30 copiosius secuntur inconveniencia contra istos ydolatrias. Ideo dicunt alii e contra, quod substantia panis est corpus Christi, ut dicunt sancti doctores et leges ecclesie, ad illum sensum exercitum; hoc est, transsubstantiatur in corpus Christi; sed non est corpus Christi

35 intelligendo signa in *actu signato*, quia ille sunt omnino desperate substantie, que non possunt ydemptificari. Contra illud replicatur primo, quod substantia panis per adversarios desinit esse pro instanti transsubstantiacionis, nec ante est corpus Christi, nec per idem iuxta sua

40 principia potest esse; quia illum panem esse corpus Christi non potest tempore mensurari. Item, si panis sacramentalis non potest esse corpus Christi, et totus

being, except  
*in actu signato*  
in the mind  
that thinks  
them, the Host  
is not Christ's  
body *in actu*  
*exercito*, but  
*signato*; i. e.  
it only signifies  
Christ's body.

Theory refuted:  
1<sup>st</sup> because the  
sacrament  
would be only  
a figure of  
Christ;  
2<sup>nd</sup> because we  
have no  
warrant of its  
truth;  
3<sup>rd</sup> because if  
signs have so  
much force,  
any impostor  
could say he  
was God — in  
*actu signato*.  
This leads to  
idolatry.

Some say that  
the substance  
of bread is  
Christ's body  
*in actu exercito*.

But how can  
that be, if it  
ceases to exist  
in the moment  
of consecration,  
as they say it  
does?  
And if it still  
exists, is not  
idolatry  
committed?

4. non deest BCD; ib. scilicet pro sed BCD; corr. A. 5. tibi D.  
8. temporalia B. 23. nomine AB. 35. fuit AB.

populus iuxta doctrinam scripture, doctorum et legum ecclesie adorat illum panem tanquam corpus Christi, videtur quod committit ydolatriam adorando, et ille | A 100<sup>e</sup> error fuisset in ecclesia nimis diu a sanctis doctoribus

The likeness of bread that remains after the consecration is rightly called bread; but why not Christ's body, rather than the bread that is no longer? And if bread, it would be material, and yet there is no matter, they say.

et eius legibus toleratus. Item, illa similitudo | panis B 107<sup>e</sup> que remanet post consecracionem est plena similitudo O. panis materialis, et propterea vere dicitur esse panis; sed plus pertinens foret vocare ipsum corpus Christi, ut credit ecclesia, propter signanciam et figuram, quam panem illum qui secundum se totum desiit; et non est 10 compossibile sacramento; igitur, panis sacramentalis qui remanet, foret potius corpus Christi; videtur enim quod, sicut est panis propter dictam similitudinem, sic est panis materialis propter eandem similitudinem. Sic enim vocantur condiciones materiales et forme mate- 15 riales, licet nec sint materia, nec in illa materia subiectata. Conformiter igitur diceretur panis sacramentalis remanens panis materialis, atque panis substantia.

Another theory: the likeness of the bread that remains has the body of Christ in all its points, but is not the body of Christ. But they admit that the words, *Hoc est* &c. made what they mean.

Propter ista dicit tertia responsio, quod nec panis qui prefuit nec similitudo panis que remanet, est vere 20 aut realiter corpus Christi, sed habet ipsum corpus virtute verborum sacramentalium ad quemlibet eius punctum. Contra istud sepe invecum est, primo quia ierarchia tocius ecclesie, dominus noster Jesus Christus dicit de pane materiali: hoc est corpus meum; et demon- 25 stratur panis ille, ut dicunt eciam adversantes, ponentes quod illa propositio est factiva et conversiva: sed nimis expectant eius verificacionem, cum dicunt quod

Are they false? then the whole dogma must go.

Are they true? then Christ is virtually in the Host.

in fine, primo cum non fuerit, erit vera. Si igitur hoc principium Christi sit fundamentum ad dicendum quod 30 corpus Christi est | ibidem, si hoc principium sit falsum, A 100<sup>d</sup> patet quod deficit fundamentum ponendi corpus Christi esse ad aliquem punctum hostie consecrate. Quia autem hoc principium est verum, patet quod corpus Christi est virtualiter ad quemlibet eius | punctum, et sacra- B 107<sup>d</sup> mentaliter quelibet pars eiusdem hostie.

The same body cannot be multiplied in several places; which this theory would require. Augustine quoted.

Item, ut superius deductum est, impossibile est idem P. corpus in numero dimensionaliter pro eodem instanti multiplicari per loca distancia; sed hoc oporteret iuxta istam responsionem; igitur responsio falsa. Et idem 40 confirmatur per Augustinum epistola 2<sup>a</sup> ad Volusianum;

18. substantialis B. 27. conversativa B.

41. Aug. Ad Volusianum, t. 33, p. 517, of Migne.



- "Corpora," inquit, "sunt, quorum nullum potest esse ubique totum, quin ut per innumerabiles partes aliquam alibi habeat necesse est; et quantumcunque sit corpus, seu quantulumcunque corpusculum loci occupat  
 5 spacium, eundemque locum sic impleat ut in nulla eius parte sit totum." Ista autem via dicit quod substantia corporis Christi, sicut est secundum se totam in qualibet parte loci hostie consecrate, sic potest esse per situm totius mundi, quod immediate repugnat verbis  
 10 et sentencie beati Augustini. Item, si corpus Christi sit substantialiter ad quemlibet punctum sacramenti, tunc est eque magnum, ubicumque fuerit, cum non poterit esse alicubi, non quantum. Unde videtur sanctum Thomam dicere in De veritate theologie libro 6<sup>o</sup>  
 15 capitulo 14. "Inter alia," inquit, „miracula huius sacramenti primum est quod est idem corpus Christi in tanta quantitate, sicut fuit in cruce, et sicut iam est in celo." Oppositum videtur Augustinus expresse dicere.  
 A 101\* Unde epistola 39 ad Dardanum | in qua, quia tractat  
 20 de sacramento altaris, memoraretur de corpore Christi in illo, et cum, distingvens inter modum essendi dei ubique et modum essendi mundi mole magni, notat quomodo quantitas et qualitas in condicionibus distinguuntur; „cum," inquit, „sit corpus aliqua substantia,  
 B 108\* quantitas eius | est in magnitudine molis eius; sanitas vero eius cum sit ubique per ipsum, non quantitas, sed qualitas eius est; non" inquit, "potuit obtinere quantitas corporis quod potuit qualitas. Nam ita, distantibus partibus, que simul esse non possunt, quoniam  
 30 sua queque spacia locorum tenent, maiores maiora, et minores minora, non potuit esse in singulis quibusque partibus tota vel tanta, quanta per totum." Illud

This theory contradicts his words.

And if it be true, Christ is present with His whole size at every point of the Host; as St. Thomas says; seeming flatly to contradict Augustine.

Augustine says: "Quantity is in size; quality is in the being itself: so quantity cannot be all in one part, like quality."

21, 22. dei — essendi deest D.  
 Christi B.

24. sic pro sit CD; ib. corpus

14. No work of St. Thomas bears that name at present. The nearest approach to this quotation that I have been able to find is the following passage: "*Credit . . . Ecclesia . . . sub illa parva hostia contineri et esse veraciter totum corpus Christi ita magnum et ita perfectum sicut fuit in cruce*" (Opusc. LII, *De Sacramento Eucharistie*, c. III). We must always bear in mind that St. Thomas, with the whole School, denies that quantity gives actual extension, but only tends towards doing so. Thus, by a miracle, Christ is without dimensions in the Host, and yet is as great as in Heaven. 24. Aug. Ad Dardanum, Migne, t. 33, p. 836.

igitur quod iste sanctus dixit non posse esse, fingimus esse in hostia.

Wyclif's theory agrees with Augustine's.

Ideo, sicut dixi superius, corpus Christi multiplicatur. Quod per situm hostie non substancialiter sed sacramentaliter, nec alteratur; non putrescit, non comburitur, licet sacramentum illud quod est sacramentaliter ipsum taliter alteratur.

Glosses of ignorant men who except the case of a miracle in Augustine's words. With an adverb they destroy the value of all authority.

Sed glozatores ignari nimis seminant hereses in ista materia; ut dicta Augustini dicunt debere intelligi secundum rationem nature et non secundum rationem miraculi; ut quando crebro dicit, quod accidens non potest esse sine subiecto, et hic quod corpus Christi non potest esse sine adequacione eius cum loco; "Hoc", inquit, "debet intelligi quod non potest *naturaliter* ita esse". Et sic modicum valeret fundacio sentencie ex testimonio auctoritatis, cum potest tolli per unum adverbium. Hoc primo tollit evidencias quasunque

But this can be done on the other side too; we can say 1<sup>st</sup> that the accidents are without a subject that subjects them merely naturally; Christ's mystic presence implying a miracle.

captas a testimonio sanctorum. Pro quo notandum quod in duobus stat nostra variacio in ista materia: primo in proposicione affirmativa, qua dicitur quod accidens est sine subiecto; secundo, in proposicione negativa, qua dicitur quod non remanet substancia panis aut vini post consecracionem. Per duo igitur adverbia tollo colloracius ambo ista, et scilicet *pure naturaliter*; et si mille testimonia sunt adducta, ut quecunque sonuerint, quod accidens sit sine subiecto, hoc potest sane intelligi, quod ipsum accidens sit sine subiecto suo *pure naturaliter subiectante*; quamvis enim substancia panis sacramentalis subiectat eadem accidencia que prius, hoc tamen fit miraculose, cum simul sit substancia panis, cuius quidditas quo ad consideracionem fidelium est sopita, et cum hoc modo equivoco sit corpus Christi; in quo consideracio fidelium est collecta.

And 2<sup>nd</sup> that the substance of bread does not remain in a purely natural way; for it is miraculously Christ's sacramental body.

Et quantum ad proposiciones quasunque negativas. R. secunde sentencie que videtur dicere quod substancia panis post consecracionem non remanet, omnes possunt intelligi quod non remanet *pure naturaliter*, cum panis valde miraculose remanet sacramentaliter corpus Christi. Nec dicitur ratio quare Augustinus, dicens quod hec non possunt fieri, debet intelligi quod hec non possunt fieri naturaliter, quin per idem homines minores auc-

13. potest *deest* D. 17. tolli C. 29. dicit AB. 35. due C;  
ib. videntur CD. 40, 41. debet — fieri *deest* D.



- toritatis et invidencius, dicentes quod panis non remanet, debent intelligi quod ipse non remanet pure naturaliter.
- A 101<sup>e</sup> Unde videtur glosam impositam Augustino esse | nimis  
superficialem. Primo, quia, si accidens potest esse  
5 sine subiecto, potest esse naturaliter sine subiecto; sed  
antecedens, ut inquiunt, est absolute necessarium: ideo  
relinquitur quod glosa sit simpliciter impossibilis; argu-  
mentum videtur ex hoc quod, sicut deus potuit ordi-  
nasse formas illas fuisse generaliter sine substantia  
10 materiali, sic potest adhuc compendiosius ordinare.  
Sed tunc fuisset accidens naturaliter sine subiecto. Item,  
eo ipso quo deus dat forme potenciam, potest ipsa  
forma naturaliter denominari ab illa potencia. Sed deus  
B 108<sup>e</sup> dat qualitati | et quantitati sacramentali potenciam es-  
15 sendi sine subiecto, agendi et paciendi in toto confor-  
miter ac si esset subiectata; igitur post datam potenciam  
hec potest facere naturaliter, aliter enim nulla creatura  
posset post supernaturalem creacionem aliquam naturaliter  
se habere. Sicut igitur hostia consecrata manet  
20 per mensem naturaliter sine subiecto, tam agens quam  
paciens, sic potest manere. Licet enim modus super-  
naturalis conservacionis concurrat cum modo naturali  
in qualibet creatura, tamen ille non impedit quin modus  
naturalis datus concurrens denominet subiectum, tam  
25 naturaliter quam supernaturaliter, taliter se habere; ut,  
sicut naturaliter agit et patitur, sic naturaliter est; et  
cum hoc miraculose est: ideo, melius fuisset glose gemit-  
nare adverbialiter, dicendo quod accidens non potest esse  
S. pure naturaliter sine subiecto. Item non est fingendum  
30 aliquod miraculum sine ratione et utilitate ecclesie;  
A 101<sup>a</sup> sed nec foret | ratio nec utilitas ecclesie quod in sacra-  
mento sit accidens sine subiecto; igitur conclusio.  
Fingendum dico, quia nec sensus, nec ratio, nec scrip-  
tura docet quod ibi sit miraculum; sed, sicut finguntur  
35 potestates clavium et spirituale suffragium, sic et illud  
miraculum. Et que, rogo, ratio vel utilitas foret ecclesie  
quod substantia panis et materia prima secundum se  
totam desinat, ubi eque vel utilius posset fieri iuvamen  
ecclesie, tota substantia remanente. Nam eque posset  
40 corpus Christi esse in hostia, eque dari gracia et eque  
glosari possent testimonia servata substantia, sicut modo;  
B 108<sup>a</sup> et super hoc per subtractionem essencie materialis |

To exist  
without a  
subject is to  
exist naturally  
without one.

If those forms  
could possibly  
exist without  
matter, that  
would be in  
their nature.

And this power  
being in their  
nature, is  
rightly called  
natural.

For the  
supernatural  
order must be  
founded on the  
natural.

So the Gloss  
ought at least  
to have added  
a second  
adverb: *merely*.  
This would be  
a useless and  
therefore an  
inadmissible  
miracle.

What use is  
there in  
inventing a  
disappearance  
of the  
substance  
when, keeping  
the substance,  
you do just as  
well?

ad tantum deterioraretur mundi machina et infructuosis  
 ac fictis difficultatibus oneraretur ecclesia. Posset enim  
 Innocent's decree could be explained away; bread and wine do not remain in the Sacrament *naturally* but *supernaturally*, raised to a more perfect state. glozari Innocencius tercius ut supra et concordari cum  
 declaracione subtili Romane ecclesie sub Nicolao II<sup>o</sup>,  
 ubi docetur concorditer ad scripturam et sanctos doc- 5  
 tores quod panis et vinum ante consecracionem sunt  
 post consecracionem non solum sacramentum, sicut  
 dixit Berengarius, sed corpus Christi et sanguis; et  
 cum hoc transsubstantiantur in illa, quia convertuntur  
 et fiunt, ymo sunt, ut dicit Ambrosius, corpus Christi 10  
 et sanguis. Et hinc, nec panis nec vinum remanet post  
 consecracionem pure naturaliter, sed sunt corpora nobi-  
 liora; sic quod, suspensa tota consideracione fidelium  
 de quidditate sua, in consideracionem corporis et san-  
 guinis suspendantur: et ita rite suscepta sine mendacio A 102\*  
 habent in se vitam spiritualem; sicut medicina in se  
 virtualiter continet sanitatem. Utrum autem papa Inno-  
 cencius tercius sic intellexerit, vel solum contrarium  
 erroneum, non contendo; sed licet utrumque sit satis  
 possibile, pium tamen est, nisi patens evidencia doceat 20  
 contrarium, supponere primam partem. Glosatores  
 autem inscii nimis perturbarunt ecclesiam in hac fide.

I do not maintain that that was the real meaning of Pope Innocent; but I piously prefer supposing that it was.



## CAPITULUM QUINDECIMUM.

Inter 4<sup>or</sup> ewangelistas qui ingeminant contra me in materia de eukaristia, unus laboriose nititur deducere sententiam suam ascendendo a tempore instanti usque ad Christum, quod mansit continue fides ecclesie, sacramentum altaris esse accidens vel agregacionem accidencium | sine subiecto. Sed in tribus deficit. Primo, in hoc quod extraneat in genologia. Non enim capit omnes testes suos pro conclusione illa, sed nunc pro una sententia et nunc pro alia. In cuius signum ipsemet fluctuat in sententia quam probaret. Secundo capit in duodena sua testes valde suspectos fidelibus: ut patet inferius, et oportet ipsemet negare illos in materia ista; et dicere quod tantum acceptat eos quantum concordant cum sua sententia et in alio negare eos, foret nimis suspecta ficticia. Et tercio, deficit in hoc quod non deducit genologiam suam ad deum inclusive, sed sicut deficit in generatione "qui fuit", sic deficit in ultimo verbo "qui fuit dei". Sicut enim Christus deus noster fuit yerarch tocius ecclesie, in cuius virtute A 102<sup>b</sup> depen | dent omnia testimonia in ista materia vel alia adducendum, sic virtute istorum verborum, "Hoc est corpus meum", dependet tota fides que de eukaristia catholice est credenda. Ad discuciendum igitur istud 25 verbum "qui fuit dei", primo intenderet.

Sunt autem 23 testimonia ad confirmandum predictam sententiam: primum est multitudinis doctorum, qui sunt capita sectarum: sed quia discordant in se ipsis, nec fundantur in testimonio divine auctoritatis, 30 ideo sub uno involucro quo ad istam materiam repelluntur. Ulterius adducuntur Lynconiensis. Petrus Lombardus et Petrus Comestor, qui videntur sentenciare

One of my adversaries has attempted a genealogy of testimonies against me, from now to Christ.

Three defects:  
a) He takes some witnesses that are for, and some that are against him.  
b) He accepts the testimony of very suspicious witnesses.

c) He does not go to the beginning, i. e. dares not quote the "Hoc est corpus meum."

Examination of the 23 witnesses in number.  
I. The Chiefs of sects objected to because they do not agree.  
II. Grosseteste contradicts himself: I can explain him as I choose.

1. Capitulum deest omnes MMS. 8. rapit BC. 20. noster deest D.  
22. ad deducendum BCD. 26. etenim pro autem 23 B.

quod in sacramento altaris sit accidens sine subiecto. Quantum ad primum doctorem, patet quod ipse dicit sine formidine | quod accidens non potest esse sine B 109<sup>b</sup> subiecto, quia tunc foret verius res ipsa; ut, si forma artificialis domus vel cultelli foret per se sine materia, 5 tunc ipsa foret verius domus vel cultellus quam ista artificialia que habemus. Et si glosetur doctor in isto, super capitulo 2<sup>o</sup> 2<sup>i</sup> Posteriorum, quare non licet nobis glosare eum coloracius in ista materia? Ad cuius sensum eliciendum reliquit non superflue adverbium illud 10 "forte". Et conformiter possunt glosari duo doctores sequentes. Sicut enim Lincolniensis ponit compositionem continui ex non quantis, et alia multa que doctores moderni dicunt esse impossibilia; sic magister sententiarum | dicit opinative multa in ista materia, que A 102<sup>r</sup> doctores isti dicunt esse heretica. Ideo isti debent ab eis renui in enquesta.

III, IV. Lombard and Peter Comestor, who often say what these doctors consider heretical, may be dismissed.

V, VI. Lanfranc and Guitmundus rejected, because they only attacked the doctrine of Berengarius.

Preter istos 4<sup>or</sup> testes, sunt quinque alii prelati plus suspecti; scilicet Lanfrancus, Wimundus, Gandofilus, Pascasius et Arnulfus. Duo autem primi prelati invexerunt contra Berengarium, in hoc quod posuit panem et vinum remanere post consecracionem solum sacramentum, sic quod non corpus et sanguinem Jesu Christi, quod publice posterius revocavit coram Nicolao II<sup>o</sup> et concilio Romane ecclesie; ut patet de Consecracione, 25 distincione 2<sup>a</sup>, capitulo *Ego Berengarius*. C.

And the latter seems to say that bread is identically Christ's body: a very useless witness, for he denies that the sacrament is an accident.

Nec oportet alias cronicas apocrifas in istis attendere; isti autem erant nimis ignari logice. Unde iste Wymundus ad tantum conpalpit, quod videtur asserere panem sacramentalem esse ydemptice et substancialiter corpus 30 Christi, nec mutacionem esse in sacramento, sed apparenciam fantasticam, | et angelis in celum deferentibus B 109<sup>b</sup> corpus Christi, mira celeritate panis alius subrogatur. Iste autem Wymundus est testis doctori nimis inutilis, cum ponit accidens non posse esse sine subiecto, et 35 omnino illud sacramentum non esse accidens per se, sed sine figura esse substancialiter corpus Christi; ideo inter omnes testes allegabiles iste est magis contrarius huic secte. Et sic de Gandofilo atque Pascasio; isti, in-

VII, VIII. Gandofilus and Pascasius are

34. autem *deest* B. 36. accidens *deest* D.

39. St. Paschasius Radbertus, abbot of Corbie in 865, was the author of a treatise *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, and several other works. See Migne, t. CXX. Wyclif ought to have counted him among the doctors of the first millenary. Cf. p. 206, note.



- quam, prelati apponuntur ad augendum numerum, ut  
 A 102<sup>d</sup> tersites. Et quantum | ad Arnolfum, patet quod ipse in  
 quinque percuntacionibus suis dicit multas notabiles  
 veritates que non sunt ideo credende, quia ille dicit  
 5 eas, sed quia scriptura dicit illas: que scriptura dicit  
 de vero pane, non de accidentibus sine subiecto, "hoc  
 est corpus meum". Est autem iste Arnulfus in multis  
 contrarius huic secte; primo, inquam, in questione 4<sup>ta</sup>  
 dubitat, si corpus domini quod sumitur de altari sit  
 10 animatum et immortale; tales autem difficultates dicit  
 posterius, sicut secta Machometi, non esse querendas;  
 sed capiendum ut fidem, quod illud sacramentum sit  
 corpus Christi et sanguis, et quod virtute verborum  
 Christi panis et vinum fiunt corpus Christi et sanguis.  
 15 "Et firmissime," inquit, "scimus quod carnis Christi  
 cuius substantia adest, qualitatem illam adesse sen-  
 ciamus." "Non recte," inquit, "querimus an illa caro  
 sit mortalis vel immortalis, mortua vel viva, sicut non  
 D. recte queritur an in hostia sacrata panis existat." Con-  
 20 trarium omnium istorum tractat ista secta ut fidem,  
 cum dicit quod hostia sit panis, quia accidens sine  
 B 109<sup>d</sup> subiecto; et una pars istius secte dicit quod illa | hostia  
 est corpus Christi: tota tamen secta in hoc convenit,  
 quod corpus Christi est ibi vivum et immortale cum  
 25 omni qualitate existente in corpore vel carne Christi  
 in celo. Quomodo igitur conveniunt tales testes huic  
 secte, cum tam patule contradicunt? Ego autem intelligo  
 quod panis ille fit et est corpus Christi post conse-  
 A 103<sup>a</sup> cracionem, | et accidentia remanent sine subiecto suo  
 30 pure naturaliter subiectante, cum panis ille sit mira-  
 culose corpus Christi, quod non potest subiectare illa  
 accidentia: et solum est tunc principaliter corpus Christi.  
 Melius igitur esset allegare Bonaventuram, Dokhink,  
 Occam, Fishacrem et Albertum, quia ipsi videntur sapere  
 35 clarius in hac fide, nec sunt sectis istis tantum contrarii.

5. dicit *deest* BCD. 10. inanimatum *omnes* MSS. 13, 14. et quod —  
 sanguis *deest* BCD. 24. vinum D. 33. Dokhink CD.

3. There is another similar allusion to Thersites in *De Benedic-  
 ta Incarnatione*, p. 82. It seems to be a general scholastic  
 term for anything worthless. 33. *Dokhink*. Perhaps Thomas  
 Docking, 7<sup>th</sup> Divinity lecturer at Oxford in 1308. Monum. Fran-  
 cisc. I, p. 550, 552. Wadding, p. 220, mentions 23 Works of his.  
 34. Fishacre of Devonshire; a learned Dominican and a great  
 friend both of Grosseteste and of Robert Bacon (also a Dominican).  
 Died 1248. See *Chalmer's Biography*; *Stephen's Dict. of Nat. B.*

only named to  
 increase the  
 number.

IX. As for  
 Arnolfus, the  
 truths he says  
 are from  
 Scripture; to  
 be believed, but  
 not on his  
 account.

Besides, he will  
 not enquire  
 whether the  
 Sacrament is  
 animate or not,  
 immortal or  
 not;

and blames the  
 enquiry  
 whether the  
 bread remains  
 after  
 consecration.

"We must  
 simply believe  
 what Christ  
 said, and go no  
 further."

X. Bernard says that all the senses but hearing are wrong as regards this Sacrament.

But all the senses help towards our faith; none alone, but each in its proper share.

And though hearing is in this case first, yet it has been also the occasion of many heresies, and diversities of opinion.

XI. Anselm says that Christian piety has always abhorred the idea that bread remains in the Sacrament. Which may be explained that is does not remain principally or supernaturally.

Anselm, saying elsewhere that an accident is not without its subject, would thus escape inconsistency.

Sed pro completa duodena millenarii quo solutus est pater mendacii, adducuntur alii tres testes; primus est Bernhardus super cantica, ubi dicit quod sensus alii deficiunt in materia fidei preter auditum, ut in-  
quunt, visus, olfactus, gustus et tactus, indicant sacra-  
mentum esse panem; sed, cum secundum apostolum  
ad Rom. X "fides ex auditu"; Christus autem dicit: Rom.  
"Hoc est corpus meum"; auditus indicat hoc sacra- X, 17  
mentum esse corpus Christi. Hic patet quod non solum E.  
auditus sed alii quatuor sensus conferunt ad noticiam fidei 10  
quod hoc sacramentum sit corpus Christi; nullus autem  
illorum sensuum per se, sed quilibet illorum discernit  
quod suum est, et super omnes illos autor fidei illu-  
minat intellectum et dat fidem qua creditur hanc  
hostiam et quamlibet eius partem | quantitativam esse B 110\*  
corpus Christi; auditus autem illud non indicat, sed  
licet habeat quandam supereminenciam in adminiculando  
intellectui, ex auditu tamen per cautelas dyaboli multi-  
plicantur multe hereses | in ista materia; ut unus dicit A 103\*  
quod nichil demonstratur pronomine propositionis 20  
sacramentalis, alius autem dicit quod solum corpus  
Christi demonstratur: et sic nec panis nec eius accidens  
potest esse corpus Christi. Ego autem dico quod sub-  
stantia panis demonstratur pronomine, et fit ac est  
corpus Christi virtute verborum sacramentalium; et 25  
omnes iste diversitates capiunt originem ex auditu.  
Ulterius, dico quod post consecracionem panis ille solum  
est corpus Christi supernaturaliter, licet essencia maneat  
subiectans naturaliter illas formas.

Et per hec patet solucio ad dicta secundi testis 30  
Anselmi, qui dicitur in quadam epistola dicere quod  
panem remanere post consecracionem semper abhorruit  
pietas Christiana; hoc, inquam, potest sic sane intelligi, F.  
quod illa essencia que fit corpus Christi post conse-  
cracionem non remanet principaliter vel supernaturaliter 35  
panis ut ante, et sic non remanet pure panis; sed  
secundum quandam actualitatem quam haberet ex con-  
sideracione fidelium desinit esse, licet remaneat in  
essencia naturali. Et sic possunt concordari dicta An-  
selmi, dicentis in fine libri sui *de veritate* quod ac- 40  
cidens non potest esse sine subiecto, et talia dicta de

18. intellectum AB. 22. nec deest CD. 35. remanet non remanet CD.

39. Ans. De Veritate, c. XIII. Migne, t. 158, p. 484, 485.



eukaristia. Nunquam enim fuit intencionis cuiusquam  
sancti dicere quod corpus Christi sit illud accidens  
sine subiecto, vel quelibet particula panis sancti secun-  
B 110<sup>b</sup> dum | corporis Christi substantiam vel naturam, sed  
A 103<sup>c</sup> secundum esse | sacramentale vel figuram.

Unde sicut universale, verbi gracia, species ignis, est  
quolibet ignis particularis, et tamen non generatur, cor-  
rumpitur vel movetur proporcionabiliter ut sua indi-  
vidua; sic quodammodo corpus Christi est multe hostie  
10 consecrate, et quelibet earum, et tamen non generatur,  
corrumpitur, agit vel patitur, ut quelibet earum. Licet  
autem hec similitudo in quibusdam conferat, in multis  
tamen capit diversitatem, tam in modo loquendi quam  
eciam in re ipsa; quia universale est substantia vel  
15 essentia cuiuslibet sui suppositi, sic quod ipsum per  
se et non per accidens est illa species; et sic sunt  
partes subiective speciei, que est quodammodo totum  
universale respectu eorum. Non sic autem de hostiis  
consecrandis, cum manent per tempus illud quod erant  
20 antequam fuerunt corpus Christi. Et istam sententiam  
de universalibus approbat Anselmus, ut patet de *incar-*  
*nacione* capitulo 7<sup>o</sup>. Non igitur est religiosum scandali-  
sare doctores sed, quantum fides permiserit, concordare.  
Unde Anselmus in eodem libro in principio dicit,  
25 quod sicut in mensa nupciali, aqua in vinum mutata,  
solum affuit vinum in quod mutata est aqua, sic in  
mensa altaris solum adest corpus Christi, in quod vere  
mutata est substantia panis una, nisi quod de aqua  
nichil remansit in mutacione illa; de pane vero mutato  
30 ad peragendum sacri institutum ministerii, sola remanet  
A 103<sup>d</sup> species visibilis. | Ideo, quantum ad triplicem instanciam  
G. sophistarum, patet quod debet tolli per sensum quem  
B 110<sup>e</sup> doctor | debet pretendere.

Primo, inquam, arguunt, quod in miraculo de quo  
35 Johannis II<sup>o</sup> non solum vinum affuit, cum tam materia  
Jo. II, quam forma, quam eciam multa genera accidencium  
1—10 affuerunt. Ideo videtur debere intelligi quod solum  
vinum affuit illa essentia, que prius erat aqua; et per  
hoc tollitur secunda instancia sophistarum qua arguunt

Christ's body  
is there like a  
universal in its  
particulars; not  
generated,  
incorruptible,  
unchangeable.

Yet not quite  
so, for the  
universal is  
substantially in  
each individual,  
and makes them  
what they are.

This is  
Anselm's  
opinion; and it  
is better to  
reconcile  
doctors than  
set them  
against each  
other.  
"The water  
made wine is  
like the  
Eucharistic  
change; but  
something  
remains in the  
first case, not  
in the second".

Though not  
only wine but  
also accidents  
were present in  
this case; the  
essence that had  
been water  
became only  
wine.

9. est deest BCD. 21. de universalibus deest BCD. 26. qua AB;  
ib. si pro sic B.

22. Ans. De Fide Trinitatis, c. II. Migne, t. 158, p. 265.  
St. Anselm here defends Realism against the Nominalist Rosce-  
linus.

If the bread  
and accidents  
remain, you  
cannot say  
"Only Christ's  
body." But  
Anselm meant  
principally.

What had been  
water before,  
became wine by  
miracle. And  
Scripture  
speaks of "the  
water made  
wine." So the  
master of the  
feast tasted  
water, tasting  
the wine.

Thus the  
essence that  
was before pure  
bread,  
afterwards  
becomes  
Christ's body;  
a sacrament,  
because one  
thing is seen  
and another is  
understood.  
Ambrose  
quoted.

The book  
ascribed to  
Anselm, and  
falsely to  
Augustine, is  
spurious.

non posse esse quod in mensa altaris solum adest corpus domini, cum sacramentum et multa accidencia remaneant. Videtur enim sanctum sentire quod solum remanet principaliter corpus Christi. Et sic tollitur 5  
tercia instancia sophistarum qua arguunt repugnare quod miraculo Christi de aqua nichil remansit, cum illa essencia que est materia prima cum accidentibus ipsam consequentibus remanserant.

Ideo videtur quod sane posset intelligi nichil remanere de substantia aque principaliter in actu considerationis 10  
fidelium post eius conversionem in vinum; certum est enim secundum doctrinam istius philosophi et Augustini, quod illud quod prius erat aqua, per miraculum posterius esset vinum. Ideo dicit fides subtilis scripture, quod dum "gustasset architrclinus aquam vinum factam" etc. 15  
Ex qua fide sequitur et ipsum architrclinum gustasse H. aquam; et per consequens ipsa remanserat vere vinum. | A 104"  
Et eodemmodo intelligendum est de conversione uxoris Loth in statum salis, et artificiali factura vitri ex silice. Non, inquam, valet scandalizare tantum philosophum, 20  
quod vel ignorat philosophiam vel non reduxit exempla sua ad proposi | tum. Eadem igitur essencia, que prius B 110"  
fuit pure panis, fit posterius per verba sacramentalia corpus Christi, ut dicunt beatus Ambrosius et Augustinus cum decreto ecclesie. "Quod erat panis" inquit Am- 25  
brosius, "ante consecracionem iam corpus Christi est post consecracionem; et Augustinus, ut allegat Anshelmus ibidem, "Quod videtur," inquit, "panis est, et calix quod oculi renunciant; quod autem fides postulat instruenda, panis est corpus Christi et calix est sanguis. 30  
Ista ideo dicuntur sacramenta, quia in eis aliud videtur et aliud intelligitur." Et sic nichil valent hec testimonia, nisi ad docendum quod panis et vinum sunt hoc sacramentum et tamen quodammodo corpus Christi et sangwis; ut exponit decretum Romane ecclesie: "Ego 35  
Berengarius." Et recitantur dicta Ambrosii et Augustini eadem distincione, capitulo. "*Panis est in altari*" et capitulo, "*Qui manducant*." Qui autem voluerit defen-

8. convenientibus B; corr. A. 19. filice ACD. 21. non deest BCD.  
27. per CD. 34. cum omnes MSS.

25. Ambr. De Sacramentis, l. IV, c. 4. Migne, t. 16, p. 441.  
28. Aug. Sermones. Migne, t. 38, p. 1246, 1247. 38. Decr.  
Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars. D. II, c. 58.



dere hunc libellum qui inponitur Anshelmo et mendacius Augustino nimium onus capit in manibus. Ideo talia dicta apocrypha vel sunt totaliter omittenda, vel aliter est veritas catholica a falsitatis fecibus exsurgenda.

1. 5 12<sup>o</sup> et ultimo quantum ad istum secundum millenarium allegatur papa Innocencius | tercius, qui quasi  
 A 104<sup>b</sup> abbas tocius undenarii prioris dicitur suam sententiam insolubiliter confirmare. Duo vere sunt dicta Innocencii tercii, ut sepe repeccii, ex quibus fingitur ista blasfemia;  
 10 primum est dictum primi decretalis capitulo "*Firmiter*," ubi dicitur, quod panis et vinum transsubstantiantur  
 B 111<sup>a</sup> in corpus Christi et sangwinem. Sed sepe dictum est | ex isto sequi oportere substantiam panis et vini remanere ad subiectandum transsubstantiacionem illam passivam, quia accidens respectivum non potest esse sine  
 15 subiecto. Si igitur aliquid subicitur transsubstantiacioni, tunc ipsum est, quia aliter id quod nichil est moveretur, Supponendum igitur est Innocencium tercium loqui conformiter ad priores sanctos in ista materia; ad sensum  
 20 igitur quo ipsi dicunt panem converti in corpus Christi, fieri corpus Christi, et esse per consecracionem corpus Christi, supponitur papam istum intelligere panem illum transsubstantiari: et tunc patet quod, si sic mutatur, tunc remanet: et si dicitur quod hoc sit  
 25 impossibile, patet quod non, ex dictis sanctorum: nec est significacio termini transsubstantiacionis ad sensum contrarium fundanda; et eo quo mutacio ista est mirabilior, est sacramento consonancior, cum adversarii gloriantur in fictis miraculis huius sacramenti mirabilis.  
 30 Et ad hunc sensum possunt concordari decretum Nicolai III<sup>i</sup> et decretalis huius pape sequentis, ut supra K. exposui. Secundum dictum est eiusdem Innocencii III<sup>ii</sup> in 3<sup>o</sup> Decretalium, capitulo "*Cum Marthe*," que videtur  
 A 104<sup>e</sup> dicere, quod accidens sit sine subiecto; | quod non foret  
 35 pertinens, nisi illud accidens fuerit hoc sensibile sacramentum. Sed constat quod multa dicta in tercio Decretalium in ista materia sunt tanquam probabiliter opinata. Et illud de permanencia accidencium sine subiecto ex instinctu spiritus sancti est omissum in decretali Gregorii noni; quod si foret tam necessarium ad fundan-  
 40 dum fidem ecclesie, deberet primo inseri, aliis preter-

XII. Pope Innocent III in two places seems to uphold that doctrine.

1<sup>st</sup> when he declares that transsubstantiation takes place. But if there is a change, the substance of bread and wine must endure. If nothing remained, what would be changed? Nothing.

That this is impossible is contrary to the writings of the Saints. The more mysterious it is, the more worthy of the Sacrament.

2<sup>nd</sup> When, in another place, Innocent seems to admit absolute accidents.

But a) this is only affirmed as probable; b) it was not inserted in Gregory IX's Decretal;

17. movetur AB.  
 30. recordari D.

20. quomodo CD.

21. fieri — Christi *deest* B.

c) and were it otherwise, the possibility of an absolute accident not informing the substance would not prove that the substance no longer exists.

necessariis pretermis- Sed supposito quod inseratur in decretali novo ecclesie, patet quod non sequitur quia licet cum possit esse, ut inquit, quod substantia panis plene remaneat et quod illud accidens per illam substantiam extendatur, cum hoc quod eius informacio 5 et panis subiectacio suspendatur: et hoc foret maius mirabile. Et sic iuxta principia eorum plus cederet ad honorificenciam sacramenti. Et patet quod neutrum dictorum istorum necessitat ad ponendum quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens sine subiecto.

Even supposing that such were the decision of Rome we ought not to follow her when the contradicts Scripture.

Sed cum sit possibile, ut patet per glossatores, quod ista fuit sententia Romane ecclesie, suppono papam cum cardinalibus declarasse universalem ecclesiam sensisse quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens sine subiecto: hoc enim foret satis possibile. Tunc dicitur, quod fidelis 15 crederet nullum Romanum pontificem citra Petrum cum quancunque clero esse credendum in materia fidei, nisi de quanto se fundaverit in scriptura. Cum igitur non potest fundari in scriptura quod corpus Christi sit accidens sine subiecto, patet quod non est 20 credendum in isto cuicunque Romano pontifici, cum A 104<sup>d</sup> quotquot suis complicibus. Stat enim omnes illos esse prescitos et non partes sancte matris ecclesie; igitur non est de necessitate salutis credere quod quicquid ut fidem decreverint est credendum: quia tunc in casu 25 quis debet credere falsum, fidei Christiane contrarium, quod Christus non potest precipere. Similiter totum L. tale collegium potest peccare mortaliter, et per consequens potest deficere a credendo in deum, qui est primus | articulus fidei, et esse infideli deterior, pro-B 111<sup>a</sup> fitendo se sequi Christum simillime, et tamen in vita seculari secundum fastum et questum a Christo maxime elongari. Quare igitur non posset talis persona, sicut ipsa est decepta in fide, sic subiectos sue symonie consencientes in fide decipere? Non dubium, quin posset 35 faciliter, licet extollatur "super omne, quod dicitur deus". Similiter si habet talem virtutem quod non posset subvertere populum in fide, hoc haberet in quantum Romanus pontifex sive papa, cui oportet Christum assistere. Sed hoc est vel inpertinens Christi 40 assistencie, vel dispositio ad antichristum, cui Christus non sic assisteret, sed permetteret in penam peccati

The Pope and his Cardinals may be foreknown;

for they can sin mortally, and fall away from God, the first article in our creed.

He can not claim Christ's assistance as Pope or bishop of Rome.

1. pertinenciis pro preter necessariis B; ib. insaniretur CD. 2. quod pro quia BC. 8, 9. doctorum BCD. 14. est B. 29. accedendo AB.



plebem in fide subvertere. Et testantur hoc leges multe,  
 ut patet de Symonia capitulo 3<sup>o</sup>. Ideo supponitur quod  
 sicut papa perverso nullus est maior apostata, sic  
 nullus est apcior sathane ad infide populum seducen-  
 5 dum. Et confirmacio istius est quod diebus nostris  
 Gregorius XI<sup>us</sup> dampnat duas veritates absolute necess-  
 sarias, ut dampnatissimam et sceleratissimam; scilicet  
 quod domini temporales possunt auferre temporalia ab  
 A 105<sup>a</sup> ecclesia delinquente; et quod non | eo ipso quo papa  
 10 pretendit se quovismodo solvere vel ligare, eo ipso sic  
 solvit vel ligat; quam dampnationem mundi, eciam  
 quantumcunque sint dominis temporalibus inimici, nes-  
 ciunt vel defendere vel assensu heretico excusare. Ideo  
 Gal. I, 8 cum apostolus dicat, "si quis aliud ewangelisaverit  
 B 111<sup>d</sup> quam ewangelisatum est, licet fuerit | "angelus de celo,  
 anathema sit." Cum igitur papa potest pretendere se  
 licite dispensare contra apostolum, manifestum est quod  
 talis anathema potest in fide subvertere multas gentes.  
 Nec sunt evidencie contrarie digne memorie. Arguunt  
 20 enim quidam quod Christus promisit ecclesie eidem:  
 "Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus, usque ad  
 consumacionem seculi"; igitur cum Christus non potest  
 mentiri, non potest in isto deficere. Conceditur con-  
 clusio; sed, si papa non sit de numero illorum propter  
 25 extraneacionem a sequela in moribus, quid sibi et ad-  
 verbio illi "vobiscum"? Non enim humana statuicio  
 sive eleccio cogit Christum ut sit cum filiis suis per  
 gratiam, sed predestinacio et imitatoria filii operacio  
 facit ipsum esse de eorum numero, quibus Christus  
 30 sic loquitur: quod est vel ambiguum vel evidenter  
 falsum de Romano pontifice, propter vitam eius Christo  
 contrariam. Ideo absit illa fides a fidelibus, quod qui-  
 cunque Romanus pontifex sit caput eorum quibus  
 M. Christus sic loquitur. Secundo obicitur per hoc quod  
 35 oportet in ecclesia esse unum caput pro fide et causis  
 ecclesie decidendis, quem oportet esse Romanum ponti-  
 ficem immediatum Christi vicarium; aliter enim ecclesia  
 foret acephala. Hic conceditur assumptum, cum Christus  
 sit capud militantis ecclesie, cum ipsa perpetuo; et si  
 40 contingat Romanum pontificem esse pauperrimum et  
 humillimum, et proxime sequentem Christum inter sin-

And Gregory XI  
 has condemned  
 as heretical two  
 truths which  
 must be  
 believed.

He has incurred  
 anathema,  
 attempting to  
 change the  
 Gospel.

Answer to  
 arguments for  
 the Pope.  
 I. Christ has  
 promised to be  
 with His  
 Church.  
 But what if the  
 Pope does not  
 belong to the  
 Church?

If the Pope's  
 life is contrary  
 to Christ's, the  
 promise was  
 not made to  
 him.

II. The Church  
 must have a  
 head.

But Christ is  
 the Head of the  
 Church, and the  
 Pope only in so  
 far as he is  
 like Christ; to  
 say otherwise  
 were  
 blasphemy.

2. in de C. 19. memoria C. 24. est B. 38. acephalia AB.

2. De Symonia, p. 27.

Digression as to the Pope's claims to define faith. These may in some cases have had good results, though false.

The heathen rite of choosing a Roman Pontiff might be given up with advantage.

III. There must be a dispenser of spiritual gifts in the Church; who can be none but the Bishop of Rome. But Christ ordains to that office him whom he pleases, v. g. Augustine, who, as pope (Prosper calls him so), ought to be believed rather than any Roman pontiff.

gulos viatores, tunc ipse est immediate Christi vicarius; ut creditur fuisse de beato | Gregorio. Sed statuere B 112<sup>a</sup> unam legem quod quicumque et qualiscunque fuerit Romanus pontifex, sit caput totius ecclesie, videtur sapere manifestam blasphemiam, cum non sit in hominis 5 potestate statuere quemquam esse partem ecclesie, multo magis non spectat quod sit summus in ecclesia quo ad deum. Casualiter igitur ex ordinacione divina ex talibus blasfemiis bona eveniunt, ut dictum est de provisione pape, de eleccione et multis aliis humanis 10 legibus que sunt mala. Caput igitur ecclesie foret Christus; et lex sua, que est voluntas dei derelicta in terris, foret regula sufficiens ad quasunque causas fidei vel sentencias ecclesie decidendas. Sed suspenso ritu gentili prefeccione Romani episcopi, foret ecclesia 15 per Christum perfeccius capitata; sic enim fuit a tempore Christi usque ad stultam dotacionem ecclesie Romane. Sic etiam vivunt multi fideles in divisione Urbani et Roberti, nec non in aliis contrattis conversis per alios apostolos, qui ignorant utrumque istorum. 20 Sufficit enim ad salutem credere in dominum Jesum Christum. Nec debet fidelis sequi talem privatum prepositum, nisi de quanto tenuerit et sequentibus servaverit viam Jesu. Tercio obicitur per hoc quod oportet N. in ecclesia esse unum principaliter interpretantem et 25 exequentem | legem ecclesie, cui credita sit dispensacio A 105<sup>a</sup> spiritualis thesauri Christi, per quem ut montem supremum post Christum derivetur lux inferioribus, ut vallibus, cui oportet credere finaliter in ambiguis. Quo ad istud sepe dictum est, quod Christus voluntarius 30 distributor sapiencie istius ordinat quem voluerit ad istud officium, et non | consequitur instituciones et elec- B 112<sup>b</sup> ciones humanas, sed per opera et virtutes movemur a deo ad istius noticiam. Unde pape Augustino plus debemus credere in ista materia quam omnibus Romanis 35 pontificibus post beatum Gregorium. Et voco hunc magnum Augustinum papam, quia sic vocat eum sanctus Prosper in quadam epistola; "domino," inquit, "beatissimo pape ineffabiliter mirabili, incomparabiliter honorabili, prestantissimo patrono Augustino, Prosper"; cum igitur 40

11. materia BC. 19. in deest B. 25. unam BC. 33. per deest B. 36. quod D.

19. Robert of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII.  
38. Prosper ad Augustinum. Migne, t. 33, p. 1002.



- in sanctis prioribus non vigeat tanta adulatio, sicut modo videtur, sic scripta docent quod beatus Augustinus fuit scripture sacre interpret prudencior quam omnes isti Romani pontifices. Sic igitur quolibet patria  
 5 habet ex ordinacione divina unum interpretem, ita quod non oportet currere ad Romanum pontificem pro quibuslibet causis ambiguis decidendis. Et quantum ad execucionem legis, quilibet fidelis debet exequi ipsam  
 O. concorditer, iuvando alium sine repugnancia. Et quantum ad dispensacionem thesauri ecclesie, patet quod illud est presumptum blasphemum officium, cum deus  
 A 105<sup>d</sup> per se dispensat sicut vult; nec scit | Romanus pontifex, quomodo sit ad regulam dispensandum; ut dictum est de indulgenciis. Non enim cognoscit gravitatem peccati,  
 15 nec distincionem mortalis a veniali, aut ordinacionem dei de pena vel premio servi sui. Et quantum ad exemplum ulterius quod ponit de lege veteri, sepe dictum est quod foret nimis hereticum servare modo legalia veteris testamenti que fuerunt antitipus Jesu  
 20 nostri, quia foret idem hoc credere et expectare antichristum futurum | tanquam deum. Nam plures facti sunt sacerdotes summi in lege veteri, ut omnes prefigurent Christum habentem sacerdocium sempiternum; ideo oportet in lege nova, loco sacerdotum legis veteris,  
 25 succedere apostolos; qui omnes sunt socii, ut docet apostolus, Gall. I<sup>o</sup>; illi autem debent esse missi, tanquam expropriarii, ut aquirant populum et honorem  
 Gal. I, 2 domino Jesu Christo. Maioritatem autem non debemus expectare inter eos, ut deus dederit eis humilitatem  
 30 maioris servicii. Si autem questio orta sit, debent convenire et cuicumque qui a deo plus rationis habuerit debet credi. Si autem deficit in penam peccati divina inspiracio, non dedignentur decreta primorum patrum consulere; et omnino caveant quicquam in fide statuere  
 35 sine auctoritate scripture.  
 P. Modo autem diffinitum est ante Innocencium III<sup>m</sup> per Nicolaum II<sup>m</sup>, quod panis et vinum remaneant post consecracionem tam sacramentum quam corpus Christi  
 A 106<sup>e</sup> et sangwis. Ideo foret nimis stultum | presumere, quod dictus Innocencius tercius illam sentenciam fidei revocaret, specialiter cum possunt concordari, ut dictum

Christ appoints an interpreter of his own in every country.

The execution of the divine law is the duty of all the faithful.

God Himself dispenses His treasures. The Pope does not know which sins are mortal, which venial.

We should not allege the Jewish High Priests.

They were but types; Christ's Apostles and their successors were poor, the least the greatest; difficulties settled by believing those who were best inspired, or consulting the Fathers, and following Scripture.

It having been already declared that the bread and wine remain, it is absurd to understand Pope Innocent's decree in a contrary sense.

2. sicut omnes MSS. 20. Christi B. 29. nisi ut CD; *ib.* humilitatem BCD. 37. remanent B.

They may draw conclusions from the word 'trans-substantiation'; but nothing' condemns us explicitly.

If Innocent had the intention they ascribe to him, we should not believe him,

nor any the more because the Dominicans were founded in his time or because he behaved badly to England.

But in any case his decree must be explained as above.

Two extremes: one, that the Sacrament is the very body of Christ; which is idolatry;

The other, that an accident is Christ's body; which is a clever trick of the Devil.

est. Si autem in fide sit questio et non occurrit auctoritas decernendi, salubre foret in cortice scripture quiescere et neutram partem sensus ut fidem temere confirmare. Unde quia Gog non habuit expresse ex decreto Innocencii III<sup>ii</sup>, quod sacramentum sit accidens 5 sine subiecto, finxit mendacia, quod non est transsubstantiatio nisi substantia, servatis accidentibus, omnimode destruat. Sed, supposito quod dictus Innocencius cum toto suo collegio decrevisset istud | explicite, B 112<sup>d</sup> non foret sibi credendum, nisi docta revelacione; cum 10 expresse contradicit sanctis doctoribus, decreto ecclesie, et rationi. Unde verisimile est, quod spiritus sanctus inspirasset autores scripture et sanctos doctores priores ecclesie in isto articulo, si sit verus; evidencia autem est presumpcionis, quod non consuluit leges et decreta 15 priora istius materie, quod non est credendum ex sua sententia accidens per se remanens esse sacramentum altaris. Nec movet quod fratres predicatorum inceperant in sexto anno huius Innocencii III<sup>ii</sup> aut quod commovit regnum Francie cum aliis contra regnum nostrum et 20 extorsit finaliter ut Anglia solveret sibi annuatim non-gentas marcas, ut dictum est alibi, nec alia eius insignia nominanda.

Quiescendum est igitur in priori sententia et glosanda sunt dicta Innocencii, sicut supra. Et sic finaliter non 25 posset doceri ex fide scri | pture quod sacramentum sit A 106<sup>b</sup> accidens sine subiecto; cum ratio ad hoc non valeat, non debet credi catholice. Sunt autem duo extrema in quibus dyabolus seducit ecclesiam; unum est, ut credatur sacramentum illud ydemptice esse corpus Christi; et 30 ista ydolatria nimis laborat in laicis, qui credunt istud tam realiter, quam realiter aliquis ydolatra credit ali-quod sculptite esse deum. Sed dyabolus declinavit ab isto ad aliud extremum; cum vidit populum ex naturali ingenio satis cognoscere illum panem non esse corpus 35 Christi, subtiliavit in signis, seducendo generacionem adulteram, quod illud | sacramentum sit accidens sine B 113<sup>a</sup> subiecto; et sic, sicut conceditur simpliciter, ut faciunt

13. prioris B. 33. sculptile C; *ib.* declinavit *deest* B. 34. in *pro* ad B.

12. *Racioni*. Here Wyclif, as is seem, would admit revelation, even if it contradicted reason expressly; this goes *beyond* Catholic belief.



- doctores ex auctoritate scripture, quod illud sacramentum sit corpus Christi, ita concedunt quod accidens sine subiecto sit etiam corpus Christi. Et ista est maior blasfemia: quia illud accidens vel nichil est vel vacuum; <sup>But also a greater blasphemy; and God is neither nothing, nor a void.</sup>
- 5 et concedere hoc de corpore Christi et deo foret summa blasfemia.
- R. Ideo non est in potestate antichristi vel dei illud statuere. Sed sicut fabulatur quod presbyter Johannes prandendo eloquitur: "nunc comedat totus mundus," <sup>The pope has reached such a pitch of madness, that he claims to dispense even God's grace.</sup>
- 10 sic posset papa occiduius cadere in tantam maniam quod credat totum residuum mundi, tam in temporalibus quam in spiritualibus ex suo arbitrio dependere: et virtute potestatis huius sine fundamento vel subiecto, non sine ipso ecclesiam gubernari; ita quod non solum
- A 106<sup>o</sup> omnes res corporales | sublunares, sed etiam omnia spiritalia dona dei ut gracie et virtutes ab ipso dependant. Hoc autem est tam blasphemum credere, sicut <sup>This is as mad as to say that Christ's body is less perfect than rat's dirt; for the rat is a melancholy animal; melancholy begets madness; and Magog dwelt in the West where men are melancholy.</sup>
- 20 mania secundum philosophos ex melancholia gignitur; Gen. Magog autem legitur Genes. fuisse filius Yoseph, cuius generacio dicitur partes occiduas magis melancholicas occupasse. Negabitur lex conversionis, quin sequitur, "imperfeccius quam alia substantia est corpus Christi: <sup>magis melancholicas</sup>
- X, 1, 5 "imperfeccius quam alia substantia est corpus Christi: igitur corpus Christi est imperfeccius quam alia substantia". Et antecedens patet ex posicionem, cum hoc sacramentum sit corpus Christi, et ipsum sacramentum sit imperfeccius quam aliqua substantia. Et ultra videtur sequi, cum corpus Christi sit aliqua substantia plena
- B 113<sup>b</sup> gracie et veritatis, quod | corpus Christi sit naturaliter imperfeccius quam corpus Christi. Cum igitur non sequitur: "Papa Innocencius cum concilio Lateranensi decrevit istam sententiam: igitur verum"; oportet querere aliam evidenciam antequam illud concedi debeat tanquam fides; argumentum enim fidei debet excedere quodcunque argumentum topicum. <sup>We must seek arguments that give us more than mere probability.</sup>

9. predicando B. 20. maniacum BCD. 26—28. Et antecedens — substantia deest BCD. 29. alia C. 32. Innocencius tercius BCD.

8. See note *supra*, p. 169. 23. The text is perhaps corrupt here; or Wyclif may be joking. The latter supposition seems probable. If we compare this with the text that follows, we find that he objects to any reasoning that is not conclusive. What precedes may be a specimen, like the Scholastic jest: *Caesar vicit Pompeium; ergo datur purgatorium.*

Objection answered.  
Bread is less perfect than a worm; Christ's body therefore cannot be bread.

We must here distinguish between formal and essential predication.

Christ's body is essentially, not formally, less perfect than a worm.

So for the sophism, concluding that the Host consecrated in England is the Host consecrated in France.

Answer: The Host is the Host in both countries: therefore both should love each other.

Sed obicitur, quod idem sequitur contra me; ut puta, S. quod corpus Christi sit naturaliter imperfeccius verme; et sic de aliis inconvenienciis reducendis, quia panis ille qui est corpus Christi est huiusmodi. Sed hic notanda est super equivocacionem distincio inter predicationem 5 formalem et essencialem; et tunc conceditur pro illa pane, quod corpus Christi est essencialiter sed non formaliter imperfeccius quam vermis, et sic Christus est imperfeccius, sed non in | perfeccior quam est ser- A 106<sup>d</sup> pens; sicut conceditur quod corpus Christi est ineqale 10 patri, quia caro assumpta, et tamen Christus est equalis patri, quia eadem natura. Verum tamen est magna diversitas utrobique; nunquam autem debet concedi quod corpus Christi sit accidens vel imperfeccius substantia. Et sic respondetur ad tales paralogismos: *Omne corpus* 15 *Christi est hostia consecrata in Anglia; omnis hostia consecrata in Francia est corpus Christi, ergo omnis hostia consecrata in Francia est hostia consecrata in Anglia;* et sic quelibet pars hostie foret totum. Ad talia, inquam, comenta laboramus, sed ad concordandum gentes et 20 regna omittimus! Conclusio tamen, sequens ex premissis in Barbara, foret ista: corpus Christi, quod est omnis hostia consecrata in Francia est hostia in Anglia; quod concedendo debemus reducere populum unius domini ad fraternam caritatem. |

B 113°

10. corpus AB; Christus CD. 11. Christus *deest omnes MSS.*  
10. in utrobique D. 14, 15. corpus — est *deest* BCD. 19. omnis  
*deest* BCD. 20. Francia — Anglia *deest* BCD.

25. The devil, according to Wyclif, was bound for the first 1000 years after Christ; so he divides the doctors into those of the second millenary, when (Rev. XX, 3, 7) the devil was loosed (15<sup>th</sup> Chapter), and those (16<sup>th</sup> Chapter) who wrote before that time, and consequently had more authority.



## CAPITULUM SEDECIMUM.

Superest una undena de millenario Christi pro supradicta sententia allegata, scilicet Rabanus, Beda, Johannes Damascenus, Gregorius, Augustinus, Ambrosius, Eusebius, 5 Isidorus, Ignacius et Dyonisius, Jeronimus.

Eleven more testimonies remain to be sifted.

Rabanus autem videtur dicere, accidencia in sacramento manent sine subiecto; sed principium debet esse testi fideli, quod non variet in eadem materia, contrarius sibi ipsi; quia ut sic foret testis patris mendacii. 10 Rabanus autem dicit, ut allegavi superius, libro 5<sup>to</sup> de A 107<sup>a</sup> naturis rerum capitulo XI<sup>o</sup>. "Igitur," inquit, "quia panis corpus confirmat, ideo illa corpus congruenter nuncupatur. Vinum autem, quia sangwinem operatur in carne, ideo ad sangwinem Christi refertur." Melius 15 igitur foret concordare doctores, dicendo quod post consecracionem sacramentum non remanet principaliter panis, cum sit quodammodo corpus Christi.

I. Raban Maur, though he affirms absolute accidents, is not a faithful witness;

for he says elsewhere that the Sacrament is rightly called bread and wine.

Quantum ad testimonium Bede, possunt credere qui voluerint, quod asseruit contrarie fidei scripture, sanctis 20 doctoribus, eciam sibi ipsi, quod non remanet panis post consecracionem; sed non est michi evidens quod Jo. sic fecit. Nam super illo Joh. I<sup>o</sup> "Videt Johannes Jesum I, 20 venientem ad se", sic scribet et legitur in ecclesia, dominica infra octavas ephifanie: "non solum," inquit, 25 "lavit nos a peccatis nostris in sangwine suo, quando sangwinem suum dedit in cruce pro nobis, vel quando unusquisque nostrum ministerio sacrosancte passionis sue baptismi aqua ablatus est; verum eciam quotidie tollit peccata mundi lavatque nos a peccatis nostris B 113<sup>a</sup> quotidie in sangwine | suo, cum eiusdem beate passio-

II. I will not believe that Bede contradicts Scripture, the Fathers, and himself.

A passage of Bede quoted,

1. Capitulum deest omnes MSS. 6. dicere quod CD. 9. patri BCD; corr. A. 11. quod C. 22, 23. Jesum se deest D.

11. Raban Maur, De Universo, l. V, c. 11 Migne, t. 111, p. 136.

nis ad altare memoria replicatur, et panis et vini creatura in sacramentum carnis et sanguinis eius ineffabilis spiritus sanctificatione transfertur; sicque corpus et sanguis illius non infidelium manibus ad perniciem ipsorum funditur et occiditur, sed fidelium ore suam sumitur in salutem".

in which we must note that he makes no mention of the destruction of substance, but says: the creature of bread . . . becomes Christ's body.

If not understood thus, he contradicts himself; which ought not to be admitted.

III. John Damascenus, who is said to affirm the non-permanence of the bread, is absolutely of my mind.

For he says, God has joined to the bread His own divinity.

Thus the bread is not destroyed, but perfected.

All that Scotus could say of this is that it points to transubstantiation;

Ex isto textu | doctoris videtur primo, quod utitur A 107<sup>b</sup> construccione intransitiva et predicacione ydemptica, B. quando dicitur quod panis creatura transfertur in sacramentum carnis et sanguinis Jesu Christi; hoc est: creatura que est panis et vinum, fit sacramentum carnis et sanguinis salvatoris. Non autem loquitur de trans- lacione qua substantia panis destruitur vel deterioratur, sicut sacerdotes ydolorum dicunt nobiles suos dupliciter mortuos translato in societatem deorum; sed quo- dammodo, sicut corpus translato in gloriam fit corpus nobilius, sic corpus quod ante consecracionem pure est panis, fit et est per consecracionem quodammodo corpus Christi. Et sic non remanet post consecracionem principaliter pure panis. Hoc autem est melius quam 20 inducere repugnanciam in doctorem.

Quo ad tertium testem, scilicet Johannem Damas- cenum, cui imponitur quod non remanet panis post consecracionem, manifestum est ex dictis, quod ipse expresse testatur nostram sentenciam. Ponit enim in 25 sentenciis suis, libro tercio, capitulo 84, "quem ad modum in baptismo consuetudo est hominum aqua lavari et oleo ungi, coniugavit eis deus gratiam spiritus sancti, et fecit ipsum lavacrum | regeneracionis; sic, B 114<sup>a</sup> quia consuetudo est hominum panem comedere, et vinum 30 et aquam bibere, coniugavit ipsis deus sui ipsius divinitatem et fecit ipsa corpus et sanguinem | sui ipsius: A 107<sup>c</sup> ut per consweta secundum gratiam fiamus". Ecce quod panis fiet, et per consequens erit, corpus Christi, et sic non destruetur sed perficietur per mutacionem super- 35 naturalem. Nec scivit Scotus aut alii capitanei sectarum invenire calumpniam in hiis dictis, nisi quia ponit

8. et *deest* AB. 9, 10. in sacramentum in C.

26. Jo. Damasc. De Fide Orth., l. IV, c. 13 (Migne, t. 94, p. 1142, series Graeca). St. John Damascenus seems to express himself here and elsewhere in a manner which agrees with Wyclif's view; and St. Thomas' explanation of the text (Summa Th. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, quaest. LXXV, art. II) appears to be rather strained.



transsubstanciacionem: ponit etiam quod sacramentum  
 illud non est antitipus vel umbra, sed presenciallyter  
 corpus Christi. Hec tamen debet intelligi, quod sit sacra-  
 mentaliter corpus Christi, nec adversarii dicant de suo  
 5 accidente; nam secundum eos hoc sacramentum est  
 duo res, et earum utraque, licet equivoce: quia illud  
 quod in natura sua fuit ante consecracionem, quod est  
 essencialiter, et illud quod est post consecracionem  
 scilicet corpus Christi, quod est supernaturaliter ad  
 10 sensum equivocum. Hoc enim concedit tam generacio  
 signa querencium, quam etiam filii ecclesie, qui con-  
 cedunt quod sacramentum est secundum naturam panis  
 et vinum. Si igitur secundum Ambrosium, et autorem  
 "De divinis officiis" eius discipulum, sacramentum  
 15 non sit post consecracionem principaliter duo corpora,  
 sed solummodo corpus Christi, patet quod per idem  
 non est due res sed solummodo corpus Christi; et, cum  
 ydemptificacio ac impanacio non sit possibilis, non  
 superest eis alius sensus, nisi quod sacramentum sit  
 20 solummodo principaliter vel supernaturaliter corpus  
 Christi. Et sic oportet intelligi quod accidentia que  
 non sunt sacramentaliter corpus Christi remaneant, et  
 B 114<sup>a</sup> quod panis secundum esse pa | nis principaliter vel  
 supernaturaliter non remanet. Et iste videtur sensus  
 25 ecclesie, dicentis accidentia remanere sine subiecto, ut  
 A 107<sup>a</sup> fides locum habeat | et sensus a deceptioe immunes  
 reddantur. Fides autem habet locum, quando, loco con-  
 sideracionis quidditatis panis, occupatur anima circa  
 consideracionem corporis Christi; et sensus a deceptioe  
 30 immunes redduntur, quando indicant essenciam esse albam,  
 sapidam, duram vel aliter accidentatam: nam cognoscere  
 quidditatem panis est accio intellectus. Et cum sit verum  
 quod illa essencia est sic accidentata, patet quod sensus  
 verum iudicans non in hoc decipitur, cum vere concipit  
 35 essenciam esse huiusmodi, quod eadem essencia vere est.  
 D. Sed dubitatur utrum debet concedi simpliciter quod  
 sacramentum sit tantummodo corpus Christi; et vide-  
 tur, iuxta exponentes, ut tactum est, quod hoc debet  
 concedi simpliciter cum panis ille sit corpus Christi,  
 40 et non sit aliud quam corpus Christi, nec sit illud quod

for the  
 Sacrament is  
 'not a type nor  
 a shadow'.

It is partly  
 what it was  
 before and  
 partly what it  
 is after  
 consecration:  
 all parties must  
 hold this.

If therefore  
 after  
 consecration  
 there are not  
 two bodies, but  
 one, and  
 impanation or  
 identification is  
 impossible, then  
 the substance  
 of bread must  
 be there.

Faith frees our  
 senses from  
 error by  
 contemplating,  
 instead of the  
 essence of  
 bread, Christ's  
 body.  
 And the sense,  
 judging of the  
 essence as being  
 white, round,  
 &c., is not  
 deceived.

May we grant  
 that the  
 sacrament is  
 only Christ's  
 body? Yes, for  
 the bread is  
 that, and  
 nothing else.

3, 4. Hec — Christi deest BCD. 4. dicant C. 15. principaliter  
 duo corpora deest CD. 16, 17. Christi, patet — solummodo corpus  
 Christi deest AB. 31. non C. 33. est sic accidentata deest D.  
 35. vere A. 37. modo deest BCD.

Thus the  
Sacrament is  
both bread and  
Christ's body,  
in two distinct  
senses.

non est corpus Christi. Et eadem est difficultas contra illos qui ponunt sacramentum altaris esse accidens, utrum illud sit solummodo corpus Christi. Ideo notandum quod in istis laboratur in equivocis; nam, intelligendo esse analogice ad esse ydempticum et esse figurativum, concedendum videtur cum Ambrosio et autore De divinis officiis, quod sacramentum sit solum corpus Christi. Et licet per idem sit solum terrena substantia, tamen nomen dignius acceptatur et nomen inferius religiose suspenditur. Et ita conceditur cum autore, 10 quod sacramentum sit | equivoce utraque istarum duarum substantiarum. | A 108<sup>+</sup> B 114<sup>o</sup>

The adversaries' arguments.

A real change implies generation and corruption: which require destruction of the bread. But I mean by transsubstantiation, a change from the exclusion of anything but bread, to the coexistence of Christ.

Sed difficultas manens doctoribus ad glosandum Damascenum stat in isto quod ipse ponit panem et vinum transsubstanciari. Ista, inquiunt, transsubstantiatio, 15 cum sit motus realis, requirit aliquid generari et aliud corrumpi. Corruptum autem non est fingendum, nisi essentia panis secundum se totam destruat. Sed, ut sepe dictum est, illi nimis subtiliant de motu, quem ponunt motum realem et nichil illo moveri; sufficit, 20 inquam, ad illum motum miraculosum, quod terminus a quo sit exclusio cuiuscunque corporis per datum locum preter nudam existenciam panis, et terminus ad quem sit principalitas existencie corporis Christi per eundem locum vel forma secundum quam panis deno- 25 minatur formaliter esse corpus Christi.

Urso seems to be of the same opinion when he says that accidents require subjects;

Et ista videtur esse sententia illius subtilis philosophi et magni theologi magistri Ursonis in libro suo "de mixtionibus elementorum", ubi capitulo tercio declarans materiam primam ante tempora extitisse, ponit eam 30 inter aliquam substantiam et nullam: "cum", inquit, "omnis substantia substet accidentibus, nec accidentia possunt esse sine suis subiectis. Cum enim aliquid yle non poterit dici accidentibus subiectatum, non

7. solummodo C. 14. hoc C. 16. aliquid ACD. 27. esse deest BCD; ib. subtilis deest CD. 33, 34. aliud yle ACD; aliud universale B.

16. *Motus* is generally taken by Scholastics in the wide sense of *change*. Aristotle, enumerating seven sorts of movement, counts alteration and variation amongst them. 28. See p. 134, note. 34. *Yle* means, in Aristotelian philosophy, the material cause of anything (*ὑλη*, wood); it here means the primal matter underlying substantial changes.



potest dici substantia". Et infra, capitulo 8<sup>o</sup>, ponit  
sepe quod unum elementum transsubstanciatur in aliud;  
ideo manifestum est, cum ponit in omni tali genera-  
A 108<sup>b</sup> cione materialem essenciam remanere, | quod non fuit  
5 intencionis sue dicere motum illum transsubstanciacionis  
non esse in aliquo subiective.

and when he  
speaks of one  
element being  
transsubstan-  
tiated into  
another.

E. Et ista videtur esse sententia beati Isidori in ser-  
B 114<sup>a</sup> mone de corpore et san | gwine Christi, qui sermo sic  
incipit: "*Magnitudo celestium beneficiorum et angustias*  
10 *humane mentis excedit.*" "Tibi," inquit, "impossibile esse  
non debet quod in Christi substantiam terrena et mor-  
talia commutentur." Et declarat illud per exemplum  
notabile. "Te ipsum," inquit, "qui iam in Christo re-  
natus es, interrogo, dudum alienus a vita, peregrinus  
15 a misericordia, a salutis via intrinsecus mortuus exu-  
labas; subito iniciatus Christi legibus et salutaribus miste-  
riis innovatus, in corpus ecclesie, non vivendo sed  
credendo transisti, et de filio perdicionis adoptivus dei  
fieri occulta potestate meruisti in mensura visibili per-  
20 manens; maior factus es te ipso invisibiliter, sine  
quantitatis augmento, cum idem atque ipse esses multo  
aliter fieri fidei processibus meruisti. In exteriori nichil  
additum est, et totum in interiori mutatum est; ac si  
homo Christi filius effectus, et Christus in hominis  
25 mente formatus est. Sic igitur sine corporali sensu,  
peccati vilitate deposita, subito novam indutus es dig-  
nitatem. Et sicut hoc quod in te deus lesa curavit, in-  
A 108<sup>c</sup> fecta diluit, maculata | deterisit, non oculis, sed sensibus  
sunt credita; ita et cum reverendum altare cibus saci-  
30 andus ascendis, sacram dei tui corpus et sanguinem  
fide respice, honora, mirare, mente continge, manu  
cordis suscipe, et maxime gustu interiori assume." Sive  
autem iste sermo fuerit Ambrosii sive Ysidori, sive  
B 115<sup>a</sup> Eusebii, cum fuerint una fistula spiritus sancti, | mani-  
35 festum est, quod exemplo docent supradictam senten-  
ciam, cum aliter forent inpertinencia, quod pius non  
diceret. Unde sequitur in eodem sermone: "Adverte  
quam evidenter constet vini creaturam Christi sangui-

So does  
Isidorus.

Quotations  
from this  
author.

It is evident  
that the Holy  
Ghost dictated  
these  
expressions.

1. ponitur BCD. 7. esse *deest* C. 11. iuxta D. 14. interroga ACD;  
*ib.* peregrinis AC. 15. anima *pro* a misericordia D. 17. innovatis BC.  
22. aliter CD. 27. sic A. 29. 30. sacandis ostendis BCD. 30. sacram A;  
sacramentum BCD; *ib.* cui *omnes* MSS. 31. honore BCD. 34. fuerit A.  
35. exempla BCD. 38. constat B; *ib.* sanguinem *deest* BCD.

9. Isid. *ubi supra*. Migne, t. 83, p. 1225.

If wine should  
be called  
Christ's blood,  
then it is so.

nem nuncupandam." Nec dubium quin panis et vinum non forent nuncupanda caro Christi et sangwis, nisi forent huiusmodi, cum religio Christiana odit mendacium.

The four great  
Doctors'  
authority  
alleged.

Sed post istos allegantur quatuor magni doctores; 5 certum est tamen quod licet accusentur a scandalisantibus fratres suos, dicunt tamen concorditer nostram sententiam. Quantum autem ad beatum Ambrosium non sunt F.

Ambrose seems  
against me in  
only two  
passages.

ultra duo loca, in quibus videtur contrariari nostre sentencie; primo in libro suo de sacramentis. Et ponitur, de consecratione, distincione 2<sup>a</sup>; ut sepe repecii.

"What was  
bread, is now  
Christ's body."

"Quod erat panis," inquit, "ante consecrationem, iam corpus Christi est per consecrationem". Secundo dicit Ambrosius, et ponitur secundum partem in eadem distincione. "Si," inquit, "vis tanta est in sermone domini Jesu, ut incipiant esse que non erant; quanto magis | operatorius est ut sint que erant et in aliud A 108<sup>d</sup> commutentur. Celum non erat, mare non erat, terra non erat. Sed audi dicentem; *ipse dixit et facta sunt*.

And again  
"Christ's word  
can make what  
was to be other  
than it was."

Igitur ut respondeam tibi: non erat corpus Christi ante 20 consecrationem sed post consecrationem, dico tibi, quia iam panis corpus Christi est, *ipse dixit et factum est, ipse mandavit et creatum est*; tu ipse eras, sed non eras, vetus creatura. Postea quam consecratus es, nova creatura esse cepisti. Vis scire, quia nova creatura igitur didicisti, quod ex pane fit corpus Christi et quod aqua et vinum in calicem | mittitur, sed fit sangwis B 115<sup>b</sup> consecratione verbi celestis." Nisi, inquam, ista duo dicta beati Ambrosii sint contra nostram sententiam, nulla penitus sunt sibi contraria. Et pro tollenda ista 30 contrarietate invoco in testem decretum ecclesie contra Berengarium, quod quilibet gramaticus potest ut fidem sibi construere.

These passages  
seem but are  
not contrary;  
witness the  
Church's decree  
against  
Berengarius.

And Jerome  
teaches that the  
word Hoc,  
spoken by  
Christ, means  
bread.

Quantum ad beatum Jeronimum, notum est quod ipse eodem spiritu docet eandem sententiam; unde 35 epistola ad Elbidiam, ut supra exposui, docet quod panis demonstratur pro nomine propositionis sacramentalis: et certum est quod illud demonstratum fit virtute Christi caro et sangwis eius. Aliter enim foret sacra-

13. post CD. 23. et ipse D. 24. postquam BCD. 27. sit AB.  
33. sibi deest CD. 36. dicitur pro docet in marg. A. 38. sit D.

12. Ambr. De Sacramentis, I, IV, c. 4 (Migne, t. 16, p. 440).  
34. Jer. Ep. ad Hedibiam, c. II. Migne, t. 22, p. 986.



- mentalis propositio nimis falsa: quod esset blasphemiam  
 G. defendere. Ideo sepe confessus sum quod idem corpus  
 Christi in numero, quod fuit assumptum de virgine, quod  
 A 109<sup>a</sup> passum est in cruce, quod pro sancto | triduo iacuit  
 5 mortuum in sepulcro, quod die tertia resurrexit, quod  
 post 40<sup>a</sup> dies ascendit in celum, et quod sedet perpetuo  
 ad dexteram dei patris; ipsum inquam idem corpus,  
 et eadem substantia, est vere et realiter panis sacramentalis  
 vel hostia consecrata, quam fideles senciunt  
 10 in manibus sacerdotum. Cuius probatio est, quod Christus  
 qui mentiri non potuit nec potest sic asserit. Non  
 tamen audeo dicere, quod corpus Christi sit essentialiter,  
 substancialiter, corporaliter vel ydemptice ille panis;  
 ymo sicut corpus Christi extensum est ille panis, sed  
 15 ipsum corpus non est extense vel dimensionaliter ille  
 panis, sic dicendum est cum aliis adverbis essencie,  
 substantie et corporis. Ista autem adverbia vere et realiter  
 B 115<sup>e</sup> liter, cum sunt adverbia transcendencia, dicunt | modum  
 essendi analoicum quo Christus est ille panis. Unde,  
 20 ad tollendum istam ydolatriam atque blasphemiam, dicit  
 Augustinus, ut recitatur in de consecratione distincione  
 2<sup>a</sup>, capitulo, *non hoc*, "corpus ipsum et non ipsum."  
 Ipsum, inquam, corpus Christi secundum sacramentalem  
 figuram manducaturi sunt fideles et non ipsum  
 25 secundum sui naturam.
- Unde in tanta equivocacione laborat sophista dyabolus  
 quod seducit ecclesiam cum adverbis modorum, quod possunt  
 determinare nomen corporis sacrificii secundum sui naturam,  
 vel nomen corporis Christi secundum sui naturam. Et sic,  
 30 sumendo corpus Christi equivoce pro substantia, | que est ydemptice  
 A 109<sup>a</sup> ipse, vel pro substantia panis, ut figurat sacramentaliter  
 ipsum corpus; ut videtur beatus Jeronimus dicere de consecratione,  
 distincione 2<sup>a</sup> capitulo "*Dupliciter*": sic,  
 35 inquam, concederet equivocans quod corpus Christi est  
 substancialiter ille panis; et quod corpus Christi plurificatur  
 et extenditur, sicut ille hostie. Et ita videtur loqui decretum  
 Nicolai secundi.

Christ's body is really and truly the Sacramental Bread; though not essentially, substantially, corporally, identically; extensionally or dimensionally.

Augustine's teaching.

These adverbs, being transcendental, are equivocal. Taking the body of Christ as substance, it might be thought that it was bread substantially; which it is not.

3. Christi *deest* CD. 5. mortuum *deest* B. 19. analogum BCD.  
 28. deteriorare BD. 29, 30. vel — naturam *deest* D.

I choose to understand now in one sense, now in another, the texts that seem against me.

Thus I explain the word 'substancialiter' of Eusebius to mean that Christ is not present as a quality.

A body must fill space in a corporeal and extended way; so if it is in one place it cannot be in another.

By this reason Augustine proves that body cannot become spirit.

As for the words of Augustine, which explicitly say that the bread does not remain, he may have erred.

Ego autem teneo sententiam, et propter periculum vario in logica cum baptista; et sic glosa dicta que videntur contraria ut quando dicitur quod corpus Christi videtur oculo corporali, frangitur et movetur quomodocunque sacramentum movetur, intelligitur de 5 sacramento quod est corpus Christi. Et sic intelligitur illud sermonis Eusebii: "his", inquit. "et aliis, si plures sint signacionibus conservatis. conservetur etiam fides quo ad domini corpus. Ipsum vero non qualitative sed substancialiter creditur, ut quod ipsa veritas omnino 10 verum esse testatur; nostra fallacia falsum aut ymaginarium esse non | opinetur." Illud autem "substancia- B 115<sup>4</sup> liter" refertur ad substanciam sacramenti; quod si per impossibile foret qualitas per se. tunc corpus Christi foret ipsum qualitative, sed servando fidem verbi dei 15 teneamus quod panis ille est vere corpus Christi. Nam deus et anima substancialiter sunt per loca multa, quia habent esse spirituale, cui non repugnat, in quantum sunt id quod sunt, esse essentialiter per loca multa. Sed, cum non stat corpus esse nisi sit corporaliter et 20 dimensionaliter replens | locum, et repugnat quod simul A 109<sup>8</sup> repleat dimensionaliter multa loca, ut patet in materia de multiplicacione; ideo repugnat idem corpus esse sic substancialiter per multa loca, quia in quantum substancia illius generis, si replet unum locum sibi ade- 25 quatum, hoc deest a quocunque loco alio; ideo potest corpus multiplicari secundum alios modos essendi ut virtualem et sacramentalem; non autem secundum modum substancialem vel corporalem, quo ad naturam propriam. 30

Et hec ratio Augustini, quare quodlibet corpus potest mutari in quodlibet, sed non corpus in spiritum; et super isto errore fundantur secte erronee de multiplicacione. Sicut enim spiritus non potest extendi per locum, sic corpus non potest esse non extensum. 35 Quantum ad beatum Augustinum, ubi dicitur in quo- H. dam loco intitulato *heretice*; "noli timere asserere quod panis transit et non remanet post consecratio-

2. loyca AB. 6. corporis Christi B. 9. que BCD. 11. ut *pro* ant CD. 31. ubi *deest* BCD.

2. Wyclif, laying himself open to the charge of inconsistency, alludes to John Baptist, who baptized Christ after refusing to do so, and was right in both cases. 31. Aug. De Genesi, l. VII, c. 12, 21. Migne, t. 34, p. 362, 365.



nem"; possunt credere qui voluerint, illa fuisse verba Augustini, quia possibile est quod errasset. quod opinative locutus fuisset; vel quod nobis ignorantibus equivocasset.

- B 116<sup>a</sup> Non est autem bonum mentiri super sanctos | ad eorum  
5 scandalum. Ideo cum beatus Augustinus dicit expresse  
quod accidens non potest esse sine subiecto, sicut  
exemplificat de quantitate; ut patet De quantitate anime  
capitulo 4<sup>o</sup>; ille autem liber est notorie Augustini, ut  
patet in libro Retraccionum; illi libro et verbis suis  
A 109<sup>a</sup> in illo debemus credere specialiter, cum librum | illum  
diligenter retractat, nec errorem illum de impossibilitate  
accidencium sine subiecto revocat; que negligencia in  
tanto philosopho tantum cavente periculum in fide non  
est faciliter supponenda. Supposito igitur de possibili  
15 quod ista erant verba Augustini tunc pium videtur  
ipsum sane intelligere isto modo quod panis vel sub-  
stantia panis transit in consecracione non ad forum  
sed in corpus Christi, hoc est, fit et est corpus Christi  
per consecracionem; et sic non remanet pure panis  
20 cum sit per consecracionem corpus Christi. Sic enim  
loquitur magister Augustini Ambrosius.

Et quantum ad beatum Gregorium in sermone de  
solemnitate paschali ut recitatur de consecracione di-  
stinccione 2<sup>a</sup>, capitulo "*Species et similitudo*", ubi

- 25 videtur dicere quod sacramentum altaris sit species  
panis aut vini, conceditur quod in predicacione se-  
cundum subiectum, substantia panis et vini vere est  
Ecclus. XLIV, species panis et vini; sicut sacerdos magnus "in tem-  
17 pore iracundie factus est reconciliacio." Et signanter  
30 substantia panis vocatur illo nomine quod oportet esse  
in memoria quo ad sensum. Responsio autem illorum  
qui in isto coniciunt quod species panis sit accidens  
sine subiecto, est responsio ignari sophiste et heretici  
ydyote. Et patet, quomodo isti quatuor doctores intellecti

- A 110<sup>a</sup> catholice. sicut debent, non faciunt pro magnificatione |  
accidencium sine subiecto, nec quod panis non re-

- B 116<sup>b</sup> manet | corpus Christi, sed docent directe contrarium.  
Quo ad Eusebium et Isidorum patet ex dictis, quo-  
modo ipsi militant pro nostra parte contrarii parti

But as he says elsewhere, in an authentic work, that accidents cannot be without their subjects, we must either explain these words or say they are spurious, or that he is inconsistent.

Gregory mentions the appearance of bread; but we may say that the appearance of bread is bread; as an abstract noun may mean its corresponding concrete.

It is clear that these doctors, rightly understood, are not in favour of the 'accident' doctrine. Eusebius and Isidorus again examined.

4. fratres pro sanctos A. 5. expresse deest BCD. 7. ut — quantitate deest CD. 10. in illo deest CD. 16. sane ipsa BCD. 17. de foci B. 18. et est deest AB. 21. Augustinus omnes MSS. 26. concedetur D.

8. Aug. Retr., l. I, c. 8. Migne, t. 32, p. 594. 24. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, Dist. II, c. 34.

adverse. Et patet sententia Eusebii de consecracione  
 distincione 2<sup>a</sup> capitulo "*Quia corpus assumptum*",  
 ubi repetitur sententia supradicta beati Ysidori. Quo<sup>1</sup>  
 ad beatum Ignacium et Dyonisium patet quod non  
 faciunt pro illa sententia, cum illi sint autores qui, ut<sup>5</sup>  
 scripture, raro vel nunquam locuntur de nomine  
 accidentis. Sed postquam invaluit opinio de terrenis  
 diviciis, que possunt dici alienissime homini accidere,  
 tunc invaluit error, quo generacio signorum gravi corde  
 nititur trahere corpus domini, quod sursum est, se-<sup>10</sup>  
 cundum suam substanciam, versus terram. Sed Paulus  
 dicit econtra: "Que sursum sunt, querite"; sic igitur  
 si istis XI<sup>im</sup> testibus adiunctus fuerit ille magnus  
 philosophus sanctus, Urso et testes illi examinati fuerint  
 secundum regulas scripture, dirigente Christo 13<sup>mo</sup> "in<sup>15</sup>  
 quo clamamus: abba pater"; perfectus foret conventus  
 testium. Paulus enim dicit, quod accepit sensum istum I. Cor.  
 a domino, quod "dominus Jesus in qua nocte trade-<sup>XI,</sup>  
 batur, accepit panem, benedixit et fregit", precepit<sup>23, 24</sup>  
 quoque manducare ex illo omnes, quia ipsum est cor-<sup>20</sup>  
 pus suum: "probet", inquit, "se ipsum homo, et sic de  
 pane illo edat". Ubi | non dubium, non valet simulacio A 110<sup>b</sup>  
 Magog, quod Christus sic sophisticatus est: accepit  
 verum panem, cuius substanciam benedixit, quo sub-  
 tracto fregit abiectum | accidens sine subiecto, et pre-<sup>B 116<sup>a</sup></sup>  
 cepit manducari ex illo accidente, cum ipsum, non  
 substanciam panis, sit corpus Christi. Revera non solum  
 testimonia sanctorum, sed ingenium naturale horreret  
 istam perfidiam. Sicut igitur veram substanciam panis  
 accepit, benedixit, fregit et manducare precepit, sic<sup>30</sup>  
 eandem substanciam fecit corpus suum et ad illam  
 substanciam refert apostolus, quando dicit quod homo  
 probatus in fide sua de pane illo edat. Et hoc dictum  
 unicum quod Christus loquitur in suo apostolo, valet  
 plus quam quotquot duodene huiusmodi. Constat autem<sup>35</sup>  
 quod triplex est evidencia vel argumentum quo cog-  
 noscitur veritas, scilicet evidencia fidei per internum  
 illapsum veritatis, que de se illuminat intellectum; et  
 ista est evidencia prima et certissima, ita quod excedit  
 omnem demonstrationem philosophicam; quod si fides<sup>40</sup>

Ignatius and  
 Dionysius, since  
 neither employs  
 the term  
 'accident'  
 cannot be  
 quoted.

If we add to  
 these eleven  
 last witnesses  
 Christ and  
 St. Paul, their  
 agreement will  
 be perfect.

Paul's account  
 of the bread  
 broken, &c.  
 differs  
 completely from  
 the 'accident'  
 theory of the  
 moderns.

Christ, taking  
 the true  
 substance of  
 bread, made it  
 His body.

The Apostle's  
 evidence is of  
 most value.  
 Three sorts of  
 evidence:  
 a) That of faith  
 and internal  
 light, the best.

5. qui, ut *deest* omnes MSS. 13. testibus *deest* CD. 14. sanctus  
*deest* B. 22. quod non BCD. 38. elapsus B. itaque CD.



- scripture sic asserit ergo verum. In hoc tamen possunt  
esse equivocaciones, cum dyabolus potest seducere  
mendaces in antecedente, fallendo quod scriptura sacra  
dicit multa que non dicit. Ideo oportet fidem que est  
5 datrix muneris esse principium nostre intelleccionis,  
nec oportet ultra eius certitudinem querere ulteriorem.
- A 110<sup>6</sup> Sed illa fide habita | facile est respondere argumentis  
dyaboli et dare pie querentibus fidei rationem; hoc  
enim docet Petrus fideles et specialiter sacerdotes  
10 debere facere, licet secta Machometi et Sergii mandent  
contrarium. Nam fides nostra est tam firma et in-  
B 116<sup>4</sup> fringibilis, quod de quanto plus modeste terretur, de |  
Hebr. tanto plus rutilat, micans fidelibus; ymo ipsa fides  
XI, 11 non est qualitas, sed "substantia rerum sperandarum,  
15 argumentum non apparencium". Ipsa autem substantia  
est fundamentum primum, quo aliud nemo potest  
ponere, cum sit realiter verbum dei. Ipsum enim est  
essencialiter veritas credita, et per consequens sub-  
stantia beatitudinis et aliorum insensibilium speran-  
20 dorum; nec solum se habet ut causa materialis vel  
objectiva, sed ut causa efficiens evidenciam. vel motiva  
ad noscendum tales veritates absconditas; ideo signanter  
dicit apostolus Hebr. XI<sup>o</sup>, quod illa fides est argumen-  
tum non apparencium; hoc est, insensibilium lumine  
25 naturali.
- K. Secunda est evidencia demonstrativa, que procedit ex b) Evidence that  
veritatibus prioribus et nocioribus, concludendo veritatem comes from  
minus cognitam. Est autem multiplex demonstratio demonstration  
secundum logicos, vel ostensiva, vel ducens ad impossibile, by natural  
This is of many principles.  
30 que tenet per veritatem implicitam. Et est demonstratio sorts:  
ostensiva, vel propter quid, que vocatur potissima, vel direct,  
indirect;  
A 110<sup>4</sup> demonstratio; quia que procedit a | posteriori in natura a priori,  
ad eius causam natura priorem, licet sit arguenti minus a posteriori;  
nota. Quedam eciam est demonstratio universalis, universal,  
35 quedam particularis, quedam affirmativa, et quedam particular;  
negativa, de quibus logici intromittunt. Sed tria sunt affirmative,  
negative, &c.  
digna memoria theologo. Prima, quod ante talem Three things to  
demonstrationem fides presupponitur tanquam causa. be noted by  
theologians:  
Patet ex hoc, quod ante omnem demonstrationem 1<sup>st</sup> that every  
demonstration implies faith;  
40 presupponitur noticia, si est de subiecto. Nemo enim for it implies a  
subject, which  
demonstrat aliquid de subiecto, nisi sciverit ipsum esse; can be known  
only by faith.

2. esse deest CD. 10. mandet AB. 12. terretur omnes MSS.  
16. qua A. 23. ad hebreos BCD. 31. vocantur AB.

sed cum non possit haberi no | ticia de subiecto, nisi B 117<sup>a</sup>  
per fidem, patet conclusio. Et in signum istius nemo  
cognoscit litteras vel aliquid, nisi crediderit, iuxta illud Is.  
2<sup>nd</sup> That every Ysaie VII<sup>o</sup>: "Nisi credideritis, non permanebitis." Se- VII, 9  
truth can be proved a  
posteriori by  
the trinity of  
the soul.  
cunda conclusio: Omnis veritas poterit demonstrari ex 5  
trinitate anime a posteriori; et hoc est veritas difficillima  
ad demonstrandum, ergo etc. Iterum ista veritas: Nichil  
simul est et non est, potest negari, sicut patet 4<sup>o</sup>  
Methaphysice; sed illi insipientes possunt manuduci in  
eius noticiam per veritatem posteriorem; ergo illa veritas 10  
potest quoddammodo demonstrari, et negans illam esse  
demonstrationem abutitur terminis. Nam eque fortiter  
ex eque necessariis plus nobis notis, potest conclusio  
talis eque cognita inferri; sicut philosophus naturalis  
infert ex antecedente suo primum motorem esse; quare 15  
ergo foret unum de necessario et non | reliquum? A 111<sup>a</sup>  
3<sup>rd</sup> That the faithful need no  
demonstration  
as to Catholic  
truth; it  
hinders  
spiritual  
progress.  
Tercia conclusio: sufficit fidei quamcunque veritatem  
katholicam sine demonstratione ex fide accipere. Patet  
sic: Quecunque veritas potest sic accipi facilius, minus  
retardando viantes a moribus; cum igitur viacio secundum 20  
se requiritur et sufficit, patet conclusio. Et hinc, dimissa  
contencione circa essencialem quidditatem sacramenti  
altaris, concedo quod est quoddammodo corpus Christi,  
et est natura sua panis quem frangimus, ut dicit apo-  
stolus 1<sup>a</sup> Cor. X. Illum autem panem vocat ecclesia 25  
terrenam substanciam, sicut et autor 'De divinis officiis'.  
Alii autem vocant ipsum quantitatem, alii qualitatem,  
alii agregacionem accidencium; ut patet ex vanis ficticiis  
hodie ventilatis; de quibus | videtur michi probabilius B 117<sup>b</sup>  
quod sacramentum altaris sit forma panis aut vini 30  
transsubstantiati in corpus Christi vel sanguinem.  
Illam autem formam intelligo panem aut vinum, de  
quibus loquitur apostolus. Non autem videtur michi  
catholicum quod sit accidens sine subiecto; cum quelibet  
pars illius sacramenti sit subiecta accidenti, sive sit 35  
substancia sive quantitas. Ex quo patet quod corpus L.  
Christi sit subiectum cuilibet accidenti in hostia con-

Thus the  
dispute  
concerning the  
Sacrament can  
be closed: it is  
the Body of  
Christ, though  
by nature bread.  
The most  
probable  
opinion is that  
the form of  
bread is  
changed into  
Christ's Body.

3. aliud B. 7. Item B; *ib.* vel A. 10. illa igitur C. 14. inferitur D.  
16. demonstratio A. 24. in natura BCD. 32. et BCD. 35. sub-  
stancia A.

5. I can only understand this sentence by supposing Wyclif  
to mean that it can be proved that our soul is the image of  
the Trinity; and that, as all truth is in the latter, it is also in  
the former, as in its image.



secreta; quia illud sacramentum quod subicitur cuilibet  
huiusmodi accidenti; verumtamen corpus Christi non  
subicitur alicui eorum, nec informatur eorum aliquo,  
licet sit sacramentaliter illud quod sic informatur; sicut  
A 111<sup>b</sup> deitas est extensum, quia Christus, sed non | extenditur.  
In quibuscunque autem aliis difficultatibus huius materie  
doctus a quocunque volo humiliter stare decreto ecclesie,  
stante fide.

Tercia autem evidenciam est probabilis vel topica,  
10 sive fuerit quo ad materiam, sive quo ad formam. Quo  
ad materiam, sicut in sylogismis dyalecticis, ubi forma  
est absolute necessaria, sed antecedens est valde con-  
tingens, ut patet in isto: Omnis comptus est luxuriosus,  
Petrus est comptus, ergo Petrus est luxuriosus. Et ad  
15 illud genus evidencie reducuntur omnia argumenta  
topica, a testimonio humano; ut patet in probacionibus  
politicis et argumentis captis a testimonio doctorum,  
eciam quantumcunque sanctorum citra autores scripture,  
ut sepe docet Augustinus, sicut patet 9 distincione  
20 . . . . . Unde argumentum nude captum a testimonio  
talium doctorum, et multo magis ex testimonio Romane  
ecclesie, non sufficit per se hereticare quicquam, quia  
B 117<sup>c</sup> omnes illi possunt | decipi atque decipere, et sic contra  
dominum diffinire; ac successor catholicare quod pre-  
25 decessor hereticavit, et econtra. Ideo oportet recurrere  
ad fontem veritatis, scripturam sacram, et docere quod  
illa sententia heretica sit sibi contraria et post aufugere  
mores heretici in effectum. Non autem constat ex scrip-  
tura, quod sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto, sed  
30 contrarium; ideo nemo potest hereticare negativam eius,  
A 111<sup>e</sup> sed cum ipsa sit nota | impedire scolasticos ne amplius  
retractetur: credimus enim quod triplex est modus  
essendi corporis Christi in hostia consecrata, scilicet  
virtualis, spiritualis et sacramentalis. Virtualis, quo bene  
35 facit per totum suum dominium secundum bona nature  
vel gracie. Modus autem essendi spiritualis est, quo  
corpus Christi est in eukaristia et sanctis per gratiam.  
Et tertius est modus essendi sacramentalis, quomodo  
corpus Christi est singulariter in hostia consecrata. Et

The third sort  
of evidence  
gives only  
probability.  
As when the  
form is perfect,  
but the  
premises  
doubtful.

To this sort  
belong  
testimony, the  
Fathers and the  
decrees of the  
Church, which  
cannot give  
entire certitude

as Scripture  
can and does.

Thus even the  
agreement of  
the Fathers in  
favour of  
absolute  
accidents would  
not give  
certitude.  
Christ has three  
modes of being  
in the Host:  
virtual,  
spiritual, and  
sacramental.

6. huiusmodi BCD; corr. A. 9. est deest AB. 10. sunt B.  
15. omnia deest CD. 38. est deest BCD; ib. modo deest B.

19. Decr. Grat. 1<sup>a</sup> Pars, Dist. IX., c. III. "Noli meis litteris  
quasi canonicis scripturis inservire, etc." Also c. V.

The second  
requires the  
first; the third,  
the second.

The second  
mode of being  
is more perfect  
than the first,  
being its final  
cause.

Three other  
modes of being  
that Christ's  
body has in  
Heaven:  
Substantial,  
corporeal, and  
extended being.

Some can  
conceive no  
other existence  
but this.

The two first  
are together in  
every bodily  
thing.

And these three  
modes, more  
real than the  
former three,  
are absent from  
the Sacrament.

sicut secundus modus preexigit primum, ita tercius  
modus preexigit secundum: quia impossibile est pres-  
citum carentem fide secundum iusticiam presentem  
conficere. Qui ergo credit, sive conficiat, sive non con-  
ficiat, manducavit, ut dicit Augustinus super Johanne 5  
omelia 25. Et ille modus essendi spiritualis est in anima  
verior, est etiam verior atque realior quam prior  
modus essendi, vel secundum membrum secundi modi  
essendi in hostia consecrata, cum sit per se causa illius  
modi, vel efficiens, vel finalis; et per se causa est 10  
magis ens suo causato. Modus autem essendi spiritualis  
quo corpus | Christi est in hostia, est modus verus et B 117<sup>a</sup>  
realis, cum autor muneris qui mentiri non potest,  
dixit; "Hoc est corpus meum", et reliquit suis sacer-  
dotibus virtutem similiter faciendi. Hoc autem totum ex 15  
fide scripture colligitur; ideo Christus est speciali-  
or modo in isto sacramento quam in aliis, cum sit | simul A 111<sup>d</sup>  
veritas et figura, non sunt autem sic alia sacramenta.

Et patet iste miraculosus modus essendi sacramentalis; M.  
cultores autem signorum nesciunt fundare quod suum 20  
sacramentum sit tam realiter corpus Christi. Sed preter  
istos tres modos essendi corporis Christi, est dare tres  
alios modos essendi realiores et veriores, quos corpus  
Christi appropriate habet in celo, scilicet modus essendi  
substantialiter, corporaliter, et dimensionaliter. Et grosse 25  
concipientes non intelligunt alium modum essendi ma-  
terialis substance preter istos. Illi autem sunt valde in-  
dispositi ad concipiendum archana eucharistie et subtili-  
tatem scripture; ideo dico illis quod duo modi priores  
in subiecto corporali coincidunt, nisi quod substantialiter 30  
consequitur corpus Christi in quantum substantia, et  
modus essendi corporalis consequitur corpus Christi  
secundum rationem qua corpus. Modus autem essendi  
dimensionalis consequitur ad duos priores, sicut passio  
ad subiectum, et quilibet istorum trium modorum est 35  
realior et causa prior quam priores. Nullo autem istorum  
modorum trium est corpus Christi in sacramento, sed  
in celo; quia tunc foret corpus Christi septipedale in  
hostia. Sicut ergo corpus Christi est illa hostia, sic est | B 118<sup>a</sup>

4. sive non, manducavit CD. 13. verus D. 15. virtutum *deest* BCD.  
16. tollitur BCD. 18. pro sunt BCD. 22. tres *deest* D. 30. sub-  
stantia BCD. 32. consequi B.



- substantialiter, corporaliter ibidem et dimensionaliter, attendendo ad modum hostie secundum naturam suam, et non attendendo ad corpus Christi secundum naturam suam, ut dictum est superius. Et ita | conceditur quod, 5 sicut corpus Christi est substantia corporea in ipsa hostia, sic illo tercio modo est in illa hostia, sed non secundum rationem qua est corpus Christi. Et ita conceditur quod corpus Christi est quantumcunque varie quantificatum ibi, cum sit quelibet pars quantitativa illius hostie; et tamen non quantificatur aliqua huiusmodi quantitate. Et sic est varie magnum in diversis partibus illius hostie, sed non in se formaliter magnum aliqua tali magnitudine.
- N. Sed ulterius notandum quod magna diversitas est 15 in loco a testimonio, cum quilibet illorum quatuor magnorum doctorum valuerit mille de millenario sequenti in materia fidei. Obicitur tamen quod ipsi variarunt multipliciter in expositione scripture, ut patet ex illo Luc. II. "Tuam ipsius animam pertransibit gladius," 20 ubi aliqui videntur dicere, quod beata virgo fuit in triduo percussa gladio infidelitatis: et alii contradicunt. Sed pro isto notandum quod sancti aliquid dicunt opinative sive probabiliter, et aliud asserunt supra opinionem tanquam fidem. In talibus autem sensibus 25 scripturarum ambiguis tenuerunt se in specie opinionis quodlibet facere. Sed sepe contigit in hoc culpabiliter deficere, cum in penam peccati potest deficere sanctis spiritus consilii, quod longe crebrius contingit etiam de A 112<sup>b</sup> sectis in millenario | mendacii quam contigit de istis B 118<sup>b</sup> doctoribus. Ideo longe | minus credendum est illis, cum sint tam crebro contrarii sibi ipsis. Tercio contingit sanctos equivocare, sicut equivocamus communiter viva voce. Ut, "multitudo credencium" cuius "erat cor unum et anima una", potest dici habere animam unam, 35 que sit tam Christi quam Marie, et illam animam pertransivit gladius infidelitatis secundum partem in triduo, licet beata virgo tunc in se servaverit fidem ecclesie sine culpa et pie dubitaverit de quibusdam.

As Christ's body is the Host, it is substantially, corporally and dimensionally according to the Host's mode of existence. So it is corporally in the Host, but not *qua* Christ's body.

Divergencies among the Doctors.

Even the early Fathers do not agree.

But they are far from taking a dogmatic tone when Scripture is not clear. This want of light sometimes comes from sin.

At times they understand scripture in two senses: thus, "The believers were one heart and one soul," can be understood differently.

Useless questions raised as to the Blessed Virgin's, Conception, sinlessness, &c.

5. est *deest* AB. 6. est *deest* CD. 8. est *deest* B. 11. modi *deest* CD. 13. alia D. 15. quatuor *deest* BCD. 16. valuit BCD. 19. pertransivit AD. 21. contradicant A. 22. aliqui CD. 26. quod licet CD; *ib.* contingit CD.

dicat, quod fuit concepta in originali peccato, quod venialiter peccavit in triduo et quod fuit mortua in corpore; et alia secta frontose contrariatur.

Contrary  
positions as to  
the Sacrament.

That bread  
becomes  
Christ's body;  
that it does  
not.

That it  
becomes  
Christ's mystic  
body; that it is  
a pure accident.

That there is a  
subject of the  
accidents; that  
there is none.

Sed inanis est periculum in fide prima quo viantes de via cito variantur. Ponunt enim fideles ecclesie 5 quod panis verus sit et est per consecracionem corpus Christi; secte autem dicunt quod nullo modo potest esse ipsum corpus. Fideles dicunt quod ille panis habet similitudinem cum utroque corpore Christi, cum sit idem in genere cum corpore Christi vero et con-10 ficitur ut corpus Christi mysticum; ideo Christus vere dicit quod est corpus suum. Sed secte dicunt quod unum accidens sine subiecto incognitum fit corpus Christi, quod impossibile est Christum dicere. Fidelis dicit quod omne accidens in hostia consecrata sub-15 iectatur in pane qui est subiectum dignissimum; secte autem fingunt, quod omne illud accidens sit sine A 112<sup>c</sup> substantia subiecta. Sed cum ista variacio sit sine fundamento, donent filiis ecclesie istam iniuriam. B 118<sup>e</sup>

A conclusive  
argument.  
The Host  
cannot be an  
accident unless  
Christ said so:  
but Christ  
did not say so.

Can an accident  
be by any  
means a body?

Racio autem quietans me in ista materia stat in 20 isto. Hostia consecrata non foret accidens sine subiecto nisi Christus hoc diceret; sed Christus hoc non dixit, ergo hostia consecrata non est accidens sine subiecto. Maior patet ex hoc quod illud foret precipuum miraculum, quod non potest fieri, nisi Christus hoc dixerit. 25 Omnis enim hostia consecrata est corpus Christi, ut hic supponitur. Et minor patet Augustino et aliis veritatem zelantibus, qui vident quod precipuum accidens non potest esse sine subiecto. Nec negabit sciulus deduccionem istam: Hoc sacramentum est cor-30 pus Christi et hoc sacramentum est hoc sacramentum accidens sine subiecto; igitur hoc sacramentum accidens sine subiecto est corpus Christi: et conversim. Nam premissae et termini eorum convertuntur. Et eadem est ratio tropica vel figurativa concedendi quod illud 35 accidens sacramentum sit corpus Christi, que foret ratio concedendi quod illud sacramentum sit corpus Christi, cum sit idem; et utrobique est eadem ratio veritatis.

Objection: Is  
Christ's body  
in the Eucharist  
only in figure;

Sed multi mussitant super isto, quod sequitur ex 40 O. ista sententia, quod corpus Christi non sit in eukaristia

1. et pro quod C. 5. de viatico C. 6-8. quod — dicunt deest BCD.  
13. sit B. 27. per pro patet B. 34. eorum A.



- aliter quam in signo. Sic autem est in ymagine crucifixi. Hic dicunt fideles quod corpus Christi non est in celo, vel humanitate assumpta aliter quam in signo,
- A 112<sup>9</sup> quia tunc aliter foret ibi quam in aliquo | signo; et  
5 cum utrumque istorum sit signum, foret aliter ibi quam foret ibi. Ideo dicunt quod licet corpus Christi non sit aliter in sacramento quam in signo, est tamen ibi aliter quam ut in signo. Nam sacramentum, in quantum huiusmodi, est signum; et humanitas Christi
- B 118<sup>1</sup> est signum, cum Luc. II<sup>o</sup> dicitur, quod "positus | est hic in ruinam et resurrectionem multorum, et in signum cui contradicetur." Et secunda pars conclusionis patet ex hoc quod alius est modus essendi signum corporis Christi et alius modus essendi vere et realiter,
- 15 virtute verborum domini, corpus Christi. Conceditur tamen quod isti duo modi inseparabiliter concomitantur. Hoc tamen signum est infinitum prestancius quam signa corporis Christi in lege veteri, vel ymages in lege nova, cum sit simul veritas et figura. Intellego
- 20 autem dicta mea in materia ista secundum logicam scripture, nec non secundum logicam sanctorum et decreti Romane ecclesie, quos suppono prudenter fuisse locutos. Non enim valet scandalizare tantam Romanam ecclesiam, quando dicit panem et vinum esse post
- 25 consecrationem corpus et sanguinem Jesu Christi. Et, non obstante errore glosancium, ista fides mansit continue in ecclesia apud laycos. Cum ergo fidelis non optaret comedere corporaliter, sed spiritualiter corpus Christi, patet quod omnisciens aptavit illum modum
- A 113<sup>2</sup> spiritualem essendi corporis sui in hostia quo | debet comedi a fidele. Alium autem modum essendi, cum foret superfluous, abstrahabat. Unde infideles murmurant, vel cum illis qui abierunt retrorsum dicentes: "Durus hic est sermo", cum corpus Christi sit corporaliter
- 35 manducandum; vel cum illis observatoribus legalium legis veteris, qui non putant esse prestanciozem gradum in signo eucharistie quam fuit in signis legis veteris, vel quam est insignis humanitus institutis. Et hii fingunt
- B 119<sup>3</sup> quod accidens potest fieri | corpus Christi, et quod  
40 melius ac planius dixisset Christus; hoc accidens sine subiecto signat corpus meum. Utraque autem istarum

as in the  
Crucifix, for  
instance?

Answer: Christ  
is in the  
Sacrament only  
in figure;  
but otherwise  
than as in  
figure.

The sign has  
one mode of  
being, and the  
reality that  
Christ's words  
produce has  
another.

These two  
modes are  
however  
inseparable.  
Reality and  
figure are  
together.

This is  
according to  
Scripture, the  
Saints' belief,  
and the decrees  
of the Roman  
Church.

Christ's body  
receives a  
spiritual mode  
of being; which  
was hard to  
believe for some,  
who therefore  
imagined their  
doctrine of  
accidents.

2. non est *deest* B. 11. et in B. 16. modi essendi CD. 21. sanc-  
torum doctorum BCD. 24. qua A. 30. que A. 38. sit BCD.

sectarum ex ignorantia graduum in signis est infideli deterior.

Thus bread becomes and is Christ's body by a miracle. Not identically as the unity of person in two natures, but as nearly as possible after. This avoids all inconvenience about the accidents.

Thus the quantitative parts of Christ's body exist sacramentally in the Host; also the soul of Christ, but not so perfectly as in Heaven. Christ's soul is more Divine than His body.

But as Christ's body is not there substantially, many religious persons adore it under condition; whilst idiots murmur, not granting it to be Christ's body.

Teneamus igitur quod virtute verborum Christi panis P. ille fit et est miraculose corpus Christi ultra possibilitatem signi ad hoc humanitus instituti. Verumtamen 5 ista unitas vel unio sive accepcio non attingit ad unitatem ydempticam naturalem vel unionem ypostaticam; sed creditur quod sit immediate post illam. Et sic accidencia corporalia corporis Christi, ut quantitates et qualitates corporales corporis Christi, videntur non 10 multiplicari concomitanter ad corpus Christi in hostia: et per idem alia accidencia respectiva que fundantur in istis: quia omnia ista accidencia preexigunt esse A 113<sup>b</sup> corporale sui subiecti ubicunque fuerint; ut si hic sit septipedalitas, color vel gloria corporalis corporis Christi, 15 tunc hic est, quod corpus Christi est septipedale, coloratum, et corporaliter glorificatum; et per consequens corpus Christi habet hic existenciam corporalem. Quod cum sit falsum, negandum est talia accidencia secundum condiciones materiales multiplicari concomitanter 20 ad corpus Christi in hostia consecrata. Partes autem quantitative corporis Christi habent esse spirituale in hostia: ymmo habent esse sacramentale ibidem, cum sit quodammodo quilibet pars quantitativa ipsius hostie, et multo magis multiplicatur anima Christi per hostiam, 25 secundum quoddam esse spirituale posterius quam est illud esse quod habet in corpore Christi in celo. Et B 119<sup>b</sup> causa huius multiplicacionis anime Christi est, quod ipsa est principalius ipso corpore persona verbi. Qualitates autem immateriales, que subiectantur in anima 30 Christi, commultiplicantur cum ipsa per hostiam, ut sciencia, iusticia et alie virtutes anime Christi, que non requirunt, ubicunque fuerint, Christi preexistenciam corporalem. Ipsa enim fuerunt cum Christo; quia cum eius anima in inferno, sicut per totam hostiam est 35 Christus virtuosus, sic est per illam virtus Christi. Unde autor De divinis officiis opinatur quod, propter esse spirituale corporis Christi in hostia, est ibi concomitancia angelorum. Quia tamen | sophisticari potest A 113<sup>c</sup> ista oblacio ex defectu potestatis fidei et verborum 40 presbiteri, ideo multi religiosi adorant condicionaliter hanc hostiam et in corpore Christi, quod substantialiter



et infallibiliter sursum est, querendo celestia, sunt infallibiliter quietati. Sed ydyote remurmurant querentes quomodo corpus Christi est ille panis sanctus, cum non sint idem secundum substantiam vel naturam. Sed  
 5 ipsos oportet addiscere fidem de incarnatione, quomodo due substantie vel nature valde differentes sunt idem suppositum, et tamen non sunt eedem, quia utraque earum est Christus: et tunc possunt a posteriori ascendere ad cognoscendum istam miraculosam unionem,  
 10 servata utraque natura non ydemptificata verbo dei. Sed oportet ipsos cognoscere gradus in signis, et deponere infundabilem blasphemiam de fictis miraculis accidentis, et credere virtutem verborum Christi: et tunc possunt  
 B 119<sup>c</sup> cognoscere, quomodo ille panis est bene, mi | raculose,  
 15 vere, et realiter, spiritualiter, virtualiter et sacramentaliter corpus Christi. Sed grossi non contentantur de istis modis, sed exigunt quod panis ille nichil saltem per illum sit substancialiter et corporaliter corpus Christi; sic enim volunt zelo blasphemorum Christum  
 20 comedere, sed non possunt.  
 A 113<sup>d</sup> Adducitur autem pro hoc testimonium | Hugonis de Q. sancto Victore, libro 2<sup>o</sup>. De sacramentis parte 8<sup>va</sup> capitulo 7<sup>o</sup>. "Quemadmodum species illic cernitur, cuius res vel substantia ibi esse non creditur, sic res ibi  
 25 realiter et substancialiter presens creditur, cuius species non cernitur." Quantum ad illum doctorem patet, quod ipse subtiliter inculcat catholicam sententiam supradictam. Vult enim quod species sensibilis ibi cernitur, et quod illa species essentialiter sit panis et vinum; et  
 30 quod etiam cernitur, licet per accidens. Ideo sepe vocat ipsam panem et vinum, que sunt alimenta solita, et principalis substantia alimenti: ut patet in dicto capitulo. Et capitulo sequenti. "*Illum autem panem*", dicit  
 35 cum sit corpus Christi.

Sed pro adverbio "substancialiter" notandum, quod quandoque sumitur simpliciter pro modo substantie; sic quod idem sit corpus Christi esse ibi substancialiter et esse ibi modo substantie: et sic loquitur Hugo;

If they knew the doctrine of the Incarnation, and how two natures can be identified in one person, they could see how two natures could be all but identified.

But their gross minds are thus driven to a blasphemous doctrine.

Hugo of St. Victor's words concerning 'sensible appearance' confirm my doctrine.

Also those concerning 'the bread that has the substance believed, not seen'. 'Substantially' may mean as a substance, or in the bodily essence, as such.

8. eorum AB. 17. nihil deest B; vel pro nihil CD. 19. zelus CD.  
 21. per ABD. 22. beato A. 37. quandoque B.

21. Hugo a S<sup>to</sup> Victore, De Sacram. l. II, pars 8<sup>a</sup>, c. 7. Migne, t. 176, p. 466. 33. Hugo a S<sup>to</sup> Vict. ib. ubi supra.

quandoque autem superaddit reduplicative rationem corporis in quantum *talis* substantia. Et sic proprie  
 This explains a discrepancy, when Hugo says that we receive Christ corporally.  
 ergo intelligo adverbia. Unde eodem capitulo dicitur quod corporaliter secundum corporis et sanguinis Christi virtutem Christum sumimus in altari. Quod oportet sic 5 intelligi quod spiritualiter sumimus carnem Christi; et ille est verus modus corporis, licet | non sit modus B 119<sup>d</sup> consequens corpus in quantum corpus, quia Joh. | VI<sup>o</sup> A 114<sup>a</sup> Jo. VI, 64  
 But 'the flesh', as such, 'profiteth nothing.' My way, the second, of understanding 'substantially', is the right one. Thus Christ's body is ground between the teeth &c. in the symbol; not in its own nature, but in the nature of bread,  
 dicit Christus: "Caro non prodest quicquam"; cum nec sententia carnalis nec manducatio corporalis corporis domini quicquam prodest. Nam invisibiliter sumitur, quantum ad formam corporis sui, ut dicit doctor capitulo 3<sup>o</sup>, eiusdem partis, sed visibiliter quo ad substantiam sacramenti. Unde talis equivocatio facta est in adverbis ad excellenciam eukaristie super figuras 15 legis veteris declarandam. Nostra autem locutio est propria; quia aliter oportet concedere quod esse substantialiter sit esse accidentaliter, esse corporaliter sit esse spiritualiter, esse carnaliter sit esse virtualiter, et esse dimensive sit esse multiplicative: et periret modorum 20 distincio. Sicut igitur conceditur quod corpus Christi teritur in simbolis vel in hostia, et sentitur et tamen non sic movetur, quia non secundum naturam corporis Christi vel in quantum ipsum corpus; sic conceditur quod corpus Christi est in hostia modo 25 accidentali substantie; quia modo spirituali et sacramentali, presupponente tres alios modos realiores ipsius corporis preexistere causative. Sic autem non fuit in figuris legis veteris vel signis legis nostre humanitas institutis. 30  
 Differences between this doctrine and that of the Sects.  
 1<sup>st</sup> The Sacrament, naturally bread, is sacramentally Christ's body.  
 2<sup>nd</sup> Therefore it is to be adored; but the Sects adore the accident as a sign of Christ's body.  
 Now God is everywhere more truly than Christ's body in the Host.  
 Et sic possunt distingui modus prior quo est | in A 114<sup>b</sup> celo et modus posterior quo est in sacramento. Sic R. autem in tribus discrepamus a sectis signorum: primo in hoc quod ponimus venerabile sacramentum altaris esse naturaliter panem et vinum, sed sacramentaliter 35 corpus Christi et sanguinem. Sed secta contraria fingit ipsum | sacramentum esse unum ignotum accidens sine B 120<sup>a</sup> substantia subiecta. Et ex ista radice erroris pullulant nimis multe varietates errorum, ut secta nostra adorat sacramentum, non ut panis aut vini substantiam sed 40 ut corpus Christi et sanguinem. Sed secta cultorum accidencium, ut credo, adorat hoc sacramentum, non

25. in hostia deest D. 38. sine subiecto BCD.



ut est accidens sine subiecto, sed ut signum sacramentale corporis Christi et sanguinis. Signa autem cultus sui ostendunt quod adorant hoc sacramentum, cum adorant crucem et alias ymagines ecclesie, que  
 5 habent minorem rationem adoracionis quam habet hoc venerabile sacramentum. Nam in qualibet substancia creata est deitas realius et substancialius quam corpus Christi est in hostia consecrata. Ideo, nisi ipsa fuerit virtute verborum Christi corpus suum, non est ratio  
 10 tante excellencie adorandi. Tercio, secta nostra, per equivocacionis deteccionem et aliarum fallaciarum, tollit argucias adversantium; ut aliqua loquuntur sancti de sacramento ut panis, et alia dicunt de illo non ut ydemptice, sed sacramentaliter corpus Christi. Sed secta  
 A 114<sup>e</sup> adversariorum inculcat | difficultates inutiles et fingit in consequenter miracula de operacionibus accidentis. Sunt autem pro nostra sententia diffinicio summi iudicis domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui in cena noctis tradicionis sue accepit panem in manibus suis, benedixit,  
 20 fregit et manducare ex illo generaliter precepit: "Hoc," inquit, "est corpus meum." Cum autem demonstratur panis quem tociens replicavit pronomine  
 B 120<sup>b</sup> demonstrandi, et totum resi | duum proposicionis, signat ille qui mentiri non potuit, ipsum esse corpus suum; 25 manifestum est ex auctoritate et dictis Christi quod panis ille fit et est sacramentaliter corpus suum.

S. Adducuntur autem septem testes ad testificandum  
 ecclesie iudicis huius sententiam; primus est beatus Ignacius apostolis contemporaneus, qui ab illis et cum  
 30 illis accepit a domino sensum suum. Et recitat eum Lincolniensis super ecclesiastica ierarchia capitulo 30: "Sacramentum," inquit, "seu eukaristia est corpus Christi." Secundus testis est beatus Cyprianus in epistola sua de corpore Christi. "Calicem," inquit, "in die passionis  
 35 accipiens, benedixit, et dedit discipulis suis dicens." "Accipite et bibite ex hoc omnes: Hic est sanguis testamenti qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Amen, dico vobis, non bibam amodo ex ista creatura vitis usque in diem quo vobiscum bibam

3<sup>rd</sup> We answer all difficulties by detecting sophisms and equivocations; whereas the Sects do the contrary, accumulating difficulties.

Seven witnesses as to the meaning of Christ's words. I. St. Ignatius, contemporary of the Apostles.

II. St. Cyprian, relating the institution of the Eucharist, says that wine was called Christ's blood

6. quacumque BCD. 13. aliqua AD. 20. manducari BCD.  
 26. sit pro fit A. 28. sunis C. 32. sive C.

20. Ign. Migne, t. 5, pp. 690, 713, series Graeca, 33. Cypr.  
 Ad Coecilium. Migne, t. 4, p. 380, 381.

- novum in regno patris mei." "Qua in parte," inquit sanctus, "invenimus calicem mixtum fuisse quem obtulit, et vinum fuisse, quem sangwinem | suum dixit." Tercius A 114<sup>d</sup>
- III. St. Ambrose in his book of the Sacraments, testis est beatus Ambrosius in libro suo de sacramentis; et ponitur de consecracione distincione II<sup>a</sup>, capitulo: 5 *Panis est in altari*: "Quod," inquit, "erat panis ante consecracionem, iam corpus Christi est post consecracionem." Quartus testis est beatus Augustinus in quodam sermone exponens illud Luce XXIV: "Cognoverunt eum in fraccione panis." "Non omnis panis," inquit, "sed 10 accipiens benediccionem Christi, fit corpus Christi"; et ponitur in canone ubi supra. Quintus testis est beatus Jeronimus in epistola ad Elbidiam: "Nos," inquit, | B 120<sup>e</sup> "audiamus panem, quem fregit dominus deditque discipulis suis ad manducandum esse corpus domini sa<sup>1</sup>-15 vatoris, ipso dicente ad eos: accipite et comedite, hoc est corpus meum." Sextus testis est decretum Romane ecclesie que sub Nicolao II<sup>o</sup>, 114 episcopis dictavit prudenter secundum rectam logicam, que debet capi a tota ecclesia; quod panis et vinum que in altari ponuntur sunt post consecracionem non solum sacramentum, sed verum corpus et sangwis domini nostri Jesu Christi; ut patet in canone ubi supra. Septimus testis est usus T. ecclesie que in canone misse orat "ut hec oblacio fiat nobis corpus et sangwis domini nostri Jesu Christi". 25 Illam autem oblacionem vocat ecclesia terrenam substantiam, ut patet in secreta medie misse nativitatibus domini. Et in secreta ferie 4<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>or</sup> temporum in septembri vocatur sacramentum "constans ex terre fructibus". 30
- VII. The custom of the Church, as expressed in the canon of the Mass.
- These testimonies oblige the glossators to explain everything by its contrary; which amounts to denying both them and Scripture. Consider besides, which doctrine gives more honour to Christ's body.
- Ista autem septem | testimonia sic inficiunt glosatores A 115<sup>a</sup> quod dicunt tacite omnia talia dicta sanctorum debere intelligi per suum contrarium; et sic negari finaliter cum scriptura. Penset itaque fidelis, si sanum fuerit cum scriptura. Penset itaque fidelis, si sanum fuerit hereticare vel in hoc scandalisare istos testes et similes 35 multos. Penset secundo, quid tenderet ad honorem corporis Christi vel devocionem populi, quod ipsum corpus dignissimum sit unum accidens sine subiecto, quod

2, 3. quem — fuisse *deest* B. 7. est *deest* B; *ib.* per D. 18. sub Nico<sup>o</sup> 3<sup>a</sup> et 113<sup>eim</sup> CD; 113 B. 26. ecclesia *deest* BCD. 27. secreto BD. 28. Et *deest* D; *ib.* in secreto D. 34–36. Penset — multos *deest* BCD; in marg. A.



Augustinus dicit non posse esse; vel si est, est unum  
 B 120<sup>d</sup> nichil vel abiectissimum in natura | : tunc, inquam, foret  
 Augustinus nimis constans hereticus, quia in epistola 14  
 ad Bonifacium *de fide ecclesie* ita scribit: "Si," inquit,  
 5 "sacramenta quandam similitudinem rerum earum qua-  
 rum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta  
 non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque iam  
 ipsarum rerum nomina recipiunt. Sicut ergo secundum  
 quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus  
 10 Christi est et sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis  
 Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est." Ubi planum  
 est quod loquitur de sacramento sentito, quod fingitur  
 accidens sine subiecto. Sed que, rogo, similitudo eius  
 ad corpus Christi? Revera fructus istius demencie foret  
 15 blasphemare in deum, scandalisare sanctos et illudere ec-  
 clesie per mendacia accidentis.

Augustine says  
 that the  
 sacraments  
 resemble what  
 they signify:  
 but which  
 resembles  
 Christ's body  
 more, bread, or  
 an accident?

Ad tantum quidem testimonium sanctorum per glo-  
 satores subvertitur, quod commixto sensu equivoco quod-  
 A 115<sup>b</sup> cunque dictum | eciam scripture non facit fidem pro-  
 20 tervis. Scribit enim Hylarius, ut recitatur de Conse-  
 cracione, distincione 2<sup>a</sup>, capitulo *Corpus Christi*; "Corpus  
 Christi, inquam, quod sumitur de altari, figura est, dum  
 panis et vinum extra videtur; veritas autem, cum corpus  
 et sanguis Christi in veritate interius creditur". Ecce  
 25 quam plane panis et vinum sunt hoc sacramentum; ut  
 V. dicit decretum "*Ego Berengarius*". Unde ad detegendum  
 equivocacionem istius materie scribitur ibidem secundum  
 verbum Jeronimi in capitulo "*De hac quidem*". "De  
 hac quidem hostia que in Christi commemoracione  
 30 mirabiliter fit, edere licet; de illa vero quam Christus  
 in ara crucis obtulit, secundum se nulli edere licet",  
 B 121<sup>a</sup> ubi planum est | quod loquitur de esu corporali: et  
 distinguit inter has duas hostias secundum sui substan-  
 cias vel naturas; licet panis ille sit secundum aliam  
 35 racionem, quia sacramentaliter ipsum corpus: ut ipse-  
 met sanctus dicit in epistola ad Elbidiam, ut recitatur  
 superius. Voluntas dei est ut beneficientes obmutescere

These  
 glossators  
 equivocate  
 everywhere and  
 will not even  
 believe the  
 Scriptures.  
 St. Hilary  
 quoted:  
 'Christ's body  
 that is taken  
 from the altar  
 is a figure.'

St. Jerome's  
 words: 'Christ  
 on the cross  
 cannot, in the  
 Sacrament can  
 be eaten'.  
 This is just the  
 distinction  
 between  
 'substantially'  
 = 'corporally as  
 such,' and = 'as  
 a substance.'

1. potest A; *ib.* est esset *pro* est est B. 3. qui C. 8. accipiunt BCD.  
 10. sanguinis, sanguis BCD. 25. quod B. 27. scribit D. 36. reci-  
 tat BCD. 37. ut *deest* AB; *ib.* benefacere B.

4. Aug. Ep. XCVIII. Ad Bonifacium. Migne, t. 33, p. 364.  
 21. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars. Dist. II, c. 79. Note: "Ivo etiam citat  
 ex Hilario, et infra eadem c. *In Christo*, in extremo, refertur  
 una cum verbis Hilarii, apud quem tamen non est inventum."

Let these  
heretics be  
asked what this  
felt Sacrament  
is, which is not  
identically  
Christ's Body.  
They will either  
be confused, or  
mute, or evade  
the question,  
or fly to abuse.

We must not  
be satisfied with  
an evasion,  
saying what is  
there; we want  
to know what  
it is of those  
who, accusing  
us of heresy,  
are heretics.

If Christ's word  
ought not to be  
believed on this  
point, but  
rather  
Innocent's,  
then what shall  
we believe in  
Holy Writ?

Woe to those  
who accumulate  
lies upon the  
Church of  
Rome, making  
her contradict  
her former  
decrees!

faciatis in prudencium hominum ignoranciam <sup>1a</sup> Pet. 11<sup>o</sup>; <sup>L. Petr.</sup>  
cum dyabolus sit divisus in se, quomodo stabit senten- <sup>11, 15</sup>  
cia eius heretica? Voluntas itaque dei est ut discipuli  
veritatis diligenter interrogent ab hereticis antichristi  
discipulis, quid sit sacramentum altaris sentitum a nobis 5  
viantibus, quod non est ydemptice corpus Christi: et  
non | vidi hereticum, quin vel confusus obmutuit, vel A 115<sup>c</sup>  
ignorando vocem propriam in fundacione defecit, vel  
querens subterfugia ad convicia secundum scolam ma-  
gistri mendacii declinaverit; ut querente Christiano pru- 10  
denter, instanter et humiliter quid sit hoc sacramentum,  
circa quod stat hodie in apostatis tantus error, non  
superest nisi benefaciendo obturato hoc blasphemio binio  
adversarius obmutescat. Queratur secundum doctrinam  
Petri constanter propter habendam obmutescenciam, quid 15  
secundum naturam suam sit hoc venerabile sacramentum.

Nec quiescendum est in blasphemiiis balbucientium,  
quod ibi est albedo sine albo, figura sine figurato, et  
quantitas sine quanto. Non enim queritur quid ibi fuerit  
sed quid sit hoc sensibile sacramentum in natura sua. 20  
Et patet quam spissim cultores signorum sunt in materia  
ista heretici; nedum quia imponunt heresim fidelibus,  
qui elucidant istam fidem, et accusacio de heresi ob-  
ligat ad penam talionis, verum quia | falsificant et sic B 121<sup>b</sup>  
negant dominum Jesum Christum. Nam nichil debemus 25  
secundum fidem ewangelii de Christo credere, si non  
asseruerit panem quem cepit in manibus ac fregit esse  
corpus suum; sed dicit Augustinus super psalmo: "Si  
ego quicquam dixero, nolite ex hoc credere; sed si  
Christus dicit, ve qui non credit | ." Nec debemus cre- A 115<sup>d</sup>  
dere aliquem sensum ewangelii, si non istum. Ideo, ve X.  
generacioni adultere que plus credit testimonio Inno-  
cencii vel Raymundi, quam sensui ewangelii capto a  
testibus supradictis! Idem enim esset scandalizare ipsos  
in isto et imponere eis heresim ex perversione sensus 35  
scripture precipue. Et iterum ve ori perverso apostate  
accumulantis super ecclesiam Romanam mendacia, qui-  
bus fingit quod ecclesia posterior priori contraria cor-  
rexerit fidem, quod sacramentum istud sit accidens sine

2. fit BCD. 7. quando C. 10. declinavit A. 31. sensum esse CD.

33. Raymund de Pegnafort, general of the Dominicans, who inserted in his collection of the Gregorian Decretals the chapter "*Cum Marthe*", of which Wyclif does not approve.



subiecto et non panis verus et vinum, ut dicit ewangelium, cum decreto! Nam, teste Augustino, tale accideps sine subiecto non potest sacerdos Christi conficere: et tamen tantum magnificent sacerdotes Baal  
 5 mendaciter (indubie iuxta scolam patris sui) consecrationem huius accidentis, quod reputant missas alias indignas audiri vel dissencientes suis mendaciis inhabiles alicubi graduari. Sed credo quod finaliter veritas vincet eos.

But truth will conquer them in the end.

10 Augustinus in quodam sermone pro secunda feria pasche qui sic incipit: "Hoc quod in altari dei videtis"; "quod" inquit, "vidistis, panis est; calix, quod oculi vestri renunciant; quod autem fides vestra postulat instruenda, panis est corpus Christi, calix est sangwis Christi." Et

A sermon of Augustine quoted: 'the bread is the body of Christ.'

15 idem ponitur de Consecratione, distincione 2<sup>a</sup>: "*Qui manducat*" | : Quidditatem autem illius panis declarat |

A 116<sup>a</sup> B 121<sup>e</sup> posterius, supponens ex fide scripture apostoli quod sit panis. "Panis," inquit, "non fit de uno grano, sed de multis, quando exortizabamini quasi molebamini,  
 20 quando baptizati estis quasi conspersi estis, quando spiritus sancti ignem accepistis quasi cocti estis. Estote quod videtis, et accipite quod estis; hoc de pane dixit apostolus. Jam de calice quid intelligeremus, eciam non dictum, satis ostendit. Sicut enim, ut sit species  
 25 visibilis, multa grana consparguntur tanquam illud fiat, quod de fidelibus ait scriptura sancta: *Erat illis anima una et cor unum in deum*, sic et de vino fratres recolite. Unde fit vinum grana multa pendent ad botrum, sed liquor granorum in unitatem confunditur."

Another passage in which Augustine compares the sanctification of the faithful to the making of bread and wine.

Y. 30 Ex istis dictis istius sancti patet luce clarius quod ipse intelligit per panem et vinum que dicit esse hoc sacramentum corpus et sangwinem. Unde, in alio sermone qui sic incipit: "Reddendum sermonis," declarans quomodo hoc sacrificium sive sacramentum sit corpus  
 35 Christi et sangwis, sic infert: "Accipite," inquit, "et edite corpus Christi; eciam ipsi in corpore Christi facti, iam membra Christi accipite et potate sangwinem Christi, reddempti per sangwinem Christi; et ne dissolvamini,

Whence I conclude that the Sacrament is real bread and wine.

Again, Augustine says that by eating of this bread we shall be changed into the Lord.

4. sacerdotes baal magnificent C. 12. Quicquid BCD. 15. 2<sup>a</sup> capitulo BCD. 24. non deest A. 32. et corpus Christi et BCD.

11. Aug. Sermon. CCLXXII. Migne, t. 38, p. 1246. 14. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars. Dist. II, c. 75. 33. Aug. Sermo De Sacramento altaris, ad Infantes. Migne, t. 46, p. 827.

manducate vinculum vestrum; ne vobis viles videamini, bibite precium vestrum. Sicut hoc in | vos convertitur, A 116<sup>b</sup> cum illud manducatis et bibitis, sic et vos in corpus Christi convertimini, cum obedienter et pie vivitis.<sup>2</sup> Ex istis patet quam audacter iste sanctus dicit cum aliis 5 et decreto ecclesie, quod panis et vinum sunt corpus Christi et sangwis. Illa autem non dicit accidentia sine subiecto, sed secundum | naturam inferiorem verum B 121<sup>d</sup> panem et vinum, consimilem aliis; quia, ut dicit epistola 14<sup>a</sup> ad Bonifacium, non forent sacramentum, nisi 10 haberent quandam similitudinem cum corpore domini; nec accidens sine subiecto convertitur in hominem, quia desinit esse, ut inquit, sine hoc quod quicquam eius remaneat; quod non est converti. Et ita, sicut negant panem sacramentalem esse corpus domini, ita 15 negant implicite quod sit sacramentum. Et ita nimirum ponit Augustinus in De fide ad Petrum quod ista demencia sit nimis heretica: "Firmissime," inquit, "tene et nullatenus dubites, sacrificium panis et vini per orbem offerri." Hec verba sunt in capitulo 16 intercisa, ubi 20 non dubium intelligit intransitive sacrificium quod est panis et vinum, quia aliter foret contrarius sibi ipsi. Et in fine declarat omnes illos 40 articulos esse tante catholicos, quod quicumque voluerit alicui eorum contumaciter contraire sit hereticus ex omnibus catholicis 25 anathematisandus, quia Christiane fidei inimicus.

Et sic intelligit beatus Gregorius cum aliis catholicis Z. vocantibus sacramentum | species panis et vini. Idem A 116<sup>e</sup> enim est species panis et vini quod panis et vinum, sicut egregie declarat beatus Ambrosius in sermone de 30 divinis misteriis, qui sic incipit: *De moralibus*. "Quare descendit spiritus, sicut columba, nisi ut tu videres, ut tu agnosceres eciam illam columbam, quam Noe iustus emisit de archa, istius columbe speciem fuisse, ut tipum agnosceres sacramenti? Et fortasse dicas, cum illa vero 35 columba | fuerit que emissa est, hic quasi columba descenderet. Quomodo illic speciem esse dicimus, hic veri-

Nothing can be clearer than these expression.

An accident is not changed into a man, but perishes.

To deny that this bread is Christ's body, is to deny that it is a sacrament.

Augustine alludes to the sacrifice of bread and wine.

Gregory calls the Sacrament the appearance of bread and wine.

But this means real bread and wine; for Ambrose points out that Noah's dove was the appearance or type (species) of the Holy Ghost; and that the latter, appearing as a dove, was the reality.

2. Sic *pro* sicut A. 3. illud *deest* B. 9. convertimini *deest* A.  
9. consimile CD. 11. domini *deest* BCD. 12. in hominem *deest* BCD.  
14. est; converti *deest* CD. 23. inlime AB; *ib.* illos *deest* BCD;  
*ib.* caute BCD. 25. contrarie omnes MSS. 28. speciem BCD. 32. nisi  
ut CD. 33. cognosceres BD. 34. ex CD. 35. cognosceres B.

17. Fulgentius. De Fide ad Petrum, c. XIX. Migne, t. 40, p. 772.  
31. Ambr. De Mysteriis, c. 4. (Migne, t. 16, p. 306). The first words of the book are, as Wyclif says, "*De moralibus*".



tatem, cum secundum Grecos in specie columbe spiritum descendisse sit scriptum, sed tam verum quam divinitas que manet semper? Creatura autem non potest veritas esse, sed species que facile solvitur atque mutatur; simul  
 5 quia eorum qui baptisantur non in specie debeat esse, sed vera simplicitas; unde dominus ait: *Estote astuti sicut serpentes et simplices sicut columbe*. Merito igitur, sicut columba descendit ut admoneret nos simplicitatem columbe debere habere. Speciem autem pro veritate  
 10 accipiendam legimus; et de Christo et "*specie inventus ut homo*"; et de deo patre "*neque speciem eius vidistis*."

The word 'species' is very often used to mean 'reality'.

Ex istis videtur sanctos vocare sacramentum speciem panis et vini, quia consideracio de quidditate substance sue est sopita, et illa substantia est sacramentum, ut  
 A 116<sup>d</sup> taliter sumpta. | Et iterum, in quantum similitudo corporis Christi est species, sicut quolibet creatura est species quo ad deum.

Sed absit fidelibus credere quod si sit species istorum corporum, tunc non est panis aut vinum; cum sequatur  
 20 oppositum, sicut sequitur: spiritus sanctus est visus in columbe specie, igitur illa species est columba. Et patet quomodo ista Antichristi conclusio de quidditate hostie consecrate, quod sit accidens sine subiecto, est manifeste heretica, cum fides scripture, naturalis racio, testi-  
 25 monia sanctorum et decreta ecclesie contradicunt.

'Species' does mean appearance or image; which bread is in many respects; but it is none the less real. For the Dove that represented the Holy Ghost was a real Dove.

Conclusion: The doctrine of absolute accidents is heretical.

8. amoveret A; eos AB; *ib.* simplicitates ACD; simplices B. 11. est  
*pro* ut A.

## CAPITULUM SEPTEMDECIMUM.

The Sacrament is Christ's body under the form of bread; and this form is bread-ity, *that by which bread is bread*: therefore, real bread.

1<sup>st</sup> *Objection*: 'Christ's body becomes bread'. *Granted*. Then Christ is transsubstantiated 'into bread'. *Denied*. Why?

a) Because conversion is a change for the better.

b) It takes place by His power, and c) He alone is thought of.

Finaliter complendo tractatum de apostasia, supponendum est sacramentum altaris esse corpus | Christi B 122<sup>b</sup> in forma panis. Illa autem forma est panitas, ut dicit Innocencius 3<sup>us</sup> in tractatu suo, De eucharistia. A Gregorio autem et aliis sanctis vocatur species panis, que indubie est quiditas panis, forma substantialis sive essentia et per consequens verus panis, ut dicit ewangelium quintuplex cum fide ecclesie.

Sed arguitur primo, quod iuxta istud, sicut panis fit 10 corpus Christi, sic corpus Christi fit panis, et per consequens corpus Christi eque vere convertitur et transsubstantiatur in panem, sicut econtra. Sed hic conceditur assumptum et negatur consequentia; nam sicut incarnatione deus fit homo et econtra, sic ista miraculosa confectione Christi corpus fit panis et econtra. Conversio | autem proprie est mutatio rei in melius. A 117<sup>a</sup>

Ideo, cum corpus Christi sit infinitum melius quam panis, et virtute corporis Christi fit illa conversio et non virtute panis presuppositi, tanquam materia ad 20 corpus Christi presuppositum secundum esse suum spirituale in sua existencia; ac tercio, consideracio de pane debet esse sopita, tanquam terminus a quo sine materia; et consideracio de corpore Christi tanquam termino ad quem debet esse in fide fidelium experrecta; signanter 25 dicitur quod panis convertitur in corpus domini, non econtra.

1. capitulum *deest omnes MSS.*  
11. corpus, sic A. 14. negetur B.  
*deest CD.* 25. experiecta A.

6. aut CD. 9. duplex A.  
16. confectio D. 18. Christi

5. Innocent in this treatise, De Sacro Alt. Myst. l. IV *passim*, (Migne, t. 217) very often speaks of *species panis* and even *forma panis*; but never of *panitas*, so far as I have been able to see. If he did, he would contradict himself palpably. 9. Wyclif evidently counts St. Paul's words in I. Cor. X as a fifth Gospel.



- Sed secundo obicitur quod corpus Christi sit abiecius quam testudo, quia corpus panis; sed omne corpus non vinum abiecius est vino. Hic oportet notare distinctionem inter predicationem essencialem et formalem; 5 et cum ille predicationes dicuntur equivoce, patet quod probabiliter potest negari assumptum, formaliter intel-
- B 122<sup>c</sup> ligendo, quod corpus Christo inferioratur testudine in natura. Sic enim concedit Augustinus Christi discipulis, quod non ipsum corpus quod vident liniari membris 10 Christi sunt carnaliter comesturi. Extendendo autem predicationem ad essencialem et habitudinalem, sicut conceditur catholice quod corpus Christi et sic deus sit materialis essencia, et sic materia prima que est substantia abiectissima in natura; cum iuxta apostolum, 15 ad Philipp. II<sup>o</sup> "Christus semetipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens." | Sic concedendum est quod corpus Christi sit panis secundum sacramentalem habitudinem; et sic corpus Christi est imperfeccius quam testudo, et ita secundum disparem predicationem recipit denominationes contrarias, sicut persone verbi 20 secundum disparem eius naturas. Corpus enim Christi est multorum singulum, ut in una ecclesia tanta est et talis hostia et in alia est hostia alia variata. Nec sonat hoc in variatione corporis Christi secundum suam 25 essenciam, cum nulla earum sit ydemptice corpus Christi; sed totum sonat in bonitatem largifluam Jesu nostri.
- B. Sed ulterius restat videre, quomodo cultus eukaristie fuerat in missis institutus; quod egregie declarat auctor De divinis officiis. Sive autem Petrus sive Jacobus vel 30 quicumque alius apostolus celebraverit primam missam post Christum, probabile est quod multos ritus iam introductos dimiserat. Unde probabiliter creditur, quod dumtaxat dixit oracionem dominicam cum verbis sacramentalibus; et post prandium vel in cena isto modo 35 confecerat et tradidit populo partem suam. Et ista B 122<sup>d</sup> videtur esse sententia apostoli 1<sup>a</sup> | Cor. 10, ut superius exponebam. Narrat autem Cestrensis, libro 4<sup>o</sup> capitulo 4<sup>o</sup>, quod Christus passus est 8<sup>vo</sup> kalendas aprilis, quando A 117<sup>e</sup> secundum Cassiodorum facta est tam magna solis |

2<sup>nd</sup> Objection: Christ's body, being bread, is more imperfect than, e. g. a tortoise.

Answer. Apparently so, granted; essentially so, denied.

Thus in one sense, God is Christ, Christ is matter, matter is 'materia prima', or the meanest of things.

Christ not being identical with bread, this shows His bounty and does not degrade Him.

How the Mass was instituted. Many of its rites have varied from the very first.

It may at first have consisted only of the Lord's Prayer, the sacred words, and the giving of Communion.

3. Hinc A. 11. sic A. 18. est *deest* BCD; *ib.* perfeccius B. 20. verbi *deest* BCD. 22. essencia BCD; *ib.* est tanta C. 24. in variationem CD.

St. James the  
Less, first  
bishop of  
Jerusalem said  
the first Mass.

As for the hour  
of saying Mass,  
the first was  
certainly said  
after a meal.

Other rites,  
good in  
themselves,  
have been  
wrongly added  
to the first.

Which rites are  
the best to  
follow? those of  
Christ and His  
Apostles; all  
other prayers  
superadded  
savour of sin  
more or less,  
though they  
may be licit.

We now think  
it a great sin to  
change the  
established  
form; but to  
change the form  
Christ gave was  
worse.

defectio, qualis alias nunquam fuit. Hoc autem anno circa pentecosten ordinatus est ab apostolis Jacobus minor episcopus Jerosolimorum, qui primus inter eos missam celebravit, eodemque anno Petrus apostolus cepit presidere in partibus orientis, ubi quatuor annis 5 pontificavit missasque celebravit, dicendo: *pater noster*. Et quantum ad tempus celebrandi scribit Augustinus ad Januarium, et ponitur in De consecratione, distinctione 2<sup>a</sup>; "liquido apparet, quando primo acceperunt discipuli corpus et sanguinem domini, non eos accepisse 10 ieiunos"; sed post fuerunt ritus religiosi et particulatim appositi, qui, licet sint liciti et honesti in multis, tamen sunt ad onus ecclesie, sic quod melius foret sibi atque salubrius hec ommitti. Primo, quia ecclesia deteriorando et illibertando procedit; ideo modus quem observarunt 15 Christus et sui apostoli fuit magis autenticus et lenis. Unde ad nimis pauca respiciunt, qui dicunt quod necesse est papas capitales ecclesie ad regendum et supplendum defectus residuos legis Christi.

Item, in lege et modo colendi Christi et apostolorum 20 C. fuit forma virtuosius colendi deum, et quilibet ritus religiosus de tanto est melior. Igitur | religio illa pri- A 117<sup>a</sup> meva a qua ceciderant fuit sequente perfeccior. Cul- pandus, inquam, foret princeps religionis omnipotens et omnisciens, qui in exemplari religionis omitteret 25 necessarium observandum. Sic enim precipit | Matth. VI<sup>o</sup> B 123<sup>a</sup> compendiose orare, dimittendo deprecationes prolixas. Nec dico quin licet orare secundum oraciones alias, Matth. sed oportet quod alie oraciones et earum obligaciones VI, 7 peccatum sapiant plus vel minus. Nam Christus dif- 30 finivit medium virtuosum, et ut capitur in minori argumenti, iste est optimus modus orandi et colendi deum. Igitur presumpcio foret eum dimittere. Item, si religiosus vel usuarius tradicionis adiecte humanitis adicit vel subtrahit quo ad usum illum, reputatur pec- 35 care graviter; igitur evidencius quo ad usum religionis quam in tanta auctoritate et mensura Christus instituit. Unde ultra vires nituntur, qui intendunt excludere

1. nunquam fuit *deest* B. 3. Jerosolimitarum B. 6. noster etc. D.  
14. quod CD. 16. lenis C. 18. papas esse BCD. 25. religionis  
*deest* BCD. 26. Sic A; *ib.* precepit B. 27. oracionem CD.  
33. ipsum BCD. 36, 37. religionis quam *deest* B; illum reputatur *pro*  
religionis quam CD.



talem onustatem ecclesie a peccato, cum infinitum foret  
 gravius apostotare a religione quam Christus instituit,  
 quam a tradicionibus posterius adinventis. Non enim  
 est fides vel ratio, quod eo ipso quo Romanus pontifex  
 5 vel alius citra Christum quicquam instituit, Christus  
 adest ac illud instituit et confirmat. Tunc enim foret  
 talis institutor inpeccabilis supra deum. Item, ut ex  
 fide supponitur, nulla ordinacio Christiani est licita,  
 nisi de quanto auctorisata et prius ordinata fuerit a  
 A 118<sup>a</sup> deo; sed generaliter tales | condiciones private sine  
 revelacione adiecte religioni Christi non sunt prius  
 ordinate et auctorisate a deo, ergo non sunt licite.  
 Maior patet, ex hoc quod omnis vita et operacio  
 Christiani licita ex hoc est licita quod est prius a  
 15 deo facta atque volita. Et ex isto principio videtur  
 primo, quod multi Romani pontifices usurpando sibi  
 B 123<sup>b</sup> nomen summi Christi vicarii in terris | sepe blasphemant.  
 Videtur secundo, quod in dando absoluciones a pena,  
 ignorando gradum contricionis, non minus blasphemant.  
 20 Videtur tercio, quod in ordinando indiscrete officia ad  
 onus ecclesie, cadunt in eandem blasphemiam; ut  
 canonisaciones sanctorum et festa, in quibus post  
 oscula et ritus alios concedunt indulgencias infunda-  
 biliter, et per consequens indiscrete. De isto onere ec-  
 25 clesie conqueritur Augustinus libro primo ad Januarium,  
 ut sepe exposui. Nam credi debet ut fides, quod nulla  
 canonisacio sancti citra Christum nec aliqua oracio  
 sibi facta, valet facienti ad meritum vel sancto ad  
 honorem, nisi de quanto adauget caritatem aut de-  
 30 vocationem fidelium ad Christum, et promovet ad ob-  
 servanciam legis sue. In cuius signum nulle vel pauce  
 erant observancie in ecclesia primeva; et post multi-  
 plicate sunt propter fastum et lucrum, dimissa atten-  
 cione fidelium ad virtutes. Et propter hoc deus neces-  
 35 sitavit ordinatores oracionum ecclesie, quod in qualibet  
 tali oracione preces suas ad Christum dirigerent,  
 A 118<sup>b</sup> spera | rent et crederent ad instanciam talis sancti.  
 Et creditur quod sepe propter affectionem et insti-

No evidence  
of Divine aid  
to frame the  
liturgies.

Unless such  
rites come from  
God, they are  
unlawful.

The Popes  
often go too far.  
1<sup>st</sup> in taking the  
name of  
Christ's Vicar.  
2<sup>nd</sup> in granting  
absolutions at  
random;  
3<sup>rd</sup> in burdening  
the Church  
with rites.

No such  
observance is  
good, unless it  
increase  
devotion.

And it often  
tends to do the  
contrary.

1. ecclesie *deest* BCD. 6. conformat B. 14. primus AB.  
 15. et BCD. 19. gradus A. 28, 29. ad honorem *deest* BCD.  
 29. et CD. 30. in Christo BCD. 31. multe AB. 32. primitiva BCD.  
 33. factum et *deest* CD.

25. Augustine (Ad Januarium; Migne, t. 33, p. 200) complains  
 in general terms of unnecessary observances.

tucionem inordinatam fit displicencia deo et sanctis et per consequens evenit deterius oranti. Nam in solum Christum, qui est sanctus sanctorum, debemus credere membra eius, de quanto ad Christi amorem excitant et ad sequelam vie sue preparant solum attendere. 5

Among these innovations are the 'private religions'; which imply that a man entering and remaining therein, worships God better.

4<sup>o</sup>, videtur quod in ordinando tales religiones privatas perpetuas, consistit magna blasfemia; nam sic ordinans instituit, quod quicumque | religionem illam B 123<sup>o</sup> ingreditur, de quanto in illa permanet, de tanto perfeccius colit deum. Quod deus indubie non ordinat; 10 et sic, tanquam antichristus, ordinat aliquid contra I. Cor. deum. Et hec ratio quare apostolus 1<sup>a</sup> Cor. 1<sup>o</sup> et III<sup>o</sup> I, 10 III, 3 prohibet tales sectas capitum citra Christum; quia distrahunt ab observancia legis Christi, seminant dissensiones in ecclesia et ex confederacionibus temporalibus 15

Orders were at first purely for God's glory and the good of souls.

causant vecordias in defensione cause dei. Augustinus autem, et si qui alii meritorie constituerant tales sectas, hoc fecerunt illis qui gratis venire voluerant ad honorem dei et ad utilitatem ecclesie atque sui. Et quando- 20 cunque sentirent quod aliquod istorum trium defuerit, nedum habeant licenciam sed debeant secundum Christi obedienciam illas sectas dimittere.

Perpetual vows, unlawful. Christ cannot compel men to serve Him.

Nec licet secundum aliam perpetuitatem, qualis E. so | lemnisatur hodie, sectas statuere. Nam Christus A 118<sup>o</sup> non potest compellere quemquam intrare religionem 25 suam, nisi gratis voluerit, nec potest quemquam cogere servare religionem suam, nisi gratis voluerit. Quomodo igitur potest Magog statuere quod homo servabit suum ordinem, velit, nolit? Gloriosa itaque foret condicio, si relicto ritu gentili incarcerationis sit in libera potestate cuius- 30 cunque religiosi privati servare ritus humanos precise quantum viderit hoc prodesse ecclesie, et ad honorem dei vergere; et alios ipsos dimittere. Tunc enim solverentur confederaciones dyabolice contra Christum, et ordo ecclesie secundum religionem Christi 35 primevam tenderet ad unitatem caritativam, consumpta invida comparacione | sectarum, de qua conqueritur B 123<sup>a</sup> apostolus 1<sup>a</sup> Cor. 1<sup>o</sup>. Nec obligat votum fatuum, quod

So imprisonment in these cases ought to be given up; if it were, all would be done by charity.

A foolish vow does not oblige anyone; nor a vow to do wrong.

6. in *deest* CD. 7. blasfemie *deest* BCD; *ib.* sicut CD. 13. qui CD. 16. dissensione C. 19. ad *deest* BCD. 20. aliquid A. 26, 27. nec — voluerit *deest* B. 30. incarnationis B. 31. observare BCD. 32. se BCD. 33. pergere BCD; *ib.* alias BCD. 37. invidia B.

23. *Aliam perpetuitatem* seems here to be in opposition with *religiones privatas perpetuas* of l. 6, 7; perpetuity of the Orders, perpetuity of vows in the Orders.



libertatem Christi dissolveret. Sic non frangit votum qui vovens malefacere proximo benefacit. Cum enim omne votum debet deo fieri, patet quod deus per se dispensat, cum filio suo quem movet peccatum stulti  
 5 voti dimittere. Nec oportet licenciam antichristi in sordibus expectare. Et ex istis videtur quod nullus mundo dives vel alius debet ministrare tali clerico temporalia, vel consentire secundum rationem qua integrant conventus huiusmodi, cum ut sic ageret  
 A 118<sup>d</sup> contra Christum. Iuvent itaque fideles religiosos i | stos, exonerando eorum sarcinas, secundum rationem qua observant religionem Christianam, vel ipsam augent.

Matth. Nec cecentur argumentis dyaboli, quibus sic arguit:  
 XII, 24 Tales religiosi honeste serviunt deo, habent pulchras  
 15 domus atque ecclesias scopis mundatas, et alia ecclesiastica ornamenta. Nam deus huius seculi, ut trahat ad terrena deorsum et ut distrahat mentes hominum a celestibus, et impediat que sursum sunt querere, multiplicat talia argumenta. Foret ad honorem corporis  
 20 Christi et ad devocionem populi, quod forent talia ornamenta. Conceditur, inquam, quod necesse est habere talia, de quanto sustentant et augent cultum dei. Si autem distrahunt affectionem fratrum et impediunt 'que sursum sunt querere et non que super terram'; non  
 25 dubium, quin tunc culpabiliter noceant. Ad quod medium attingendum oportet aspicere serpentem Christum et suos sequentes eum propinquius, et non mundum. Aliter enim  
 B 124<sup>a</sup> deficeret homo nimis elongatus a via Christi. |

Nec sunt evidencie facte in contrarium digne memoria,  
 30 ut hii arguunt quod templum Salomonis pro cultu dei fuit celebre, ergo magis est ecclesia Christi. Sed isti iudaisantes non considerant, quomodo Christus pauper excedens sapienciam Salomonis, iam sursum sedens  
 A 119<sup>a</sup> attendit celebritatem virtutum, non solemnitatum | quo  
 35 ad seculum. Devocio autem contemnencium plus edificavit ecclesiam in virtute. Conversacio autem Christi docet quomodo religiosa devocio intendetur.

F. Secundo, obicitur quod Paulus fecit collectas sanctis  
 Jerusalem religiose viventibus in communi; ergo, per  
 40 idem, meritorium est sic facere in presenti. Sed sic arguentes attenderent quod sit undique sufficiens pari-

1<sup>st</sup> Objection:  
 These Religions,  
 having fine  
 houses and  
 clean churches,  
 honour God.  
 Answer: This  
 is an argument  
 of the Devil.

In so far as  
 these things aid  
 God's worship  
 they are  
 necessary, no  
 farther.

2<sup>nd</sup> Obj.: The  
 Church should  
 be finer than  
 Solomon's  
 temple.  
 This is a Jew's  
 reasoning.  
 Greater than  
 Solomon,  
 Christ was  
 poor.

Again: St. Paul  
 made  
 collections for  
 the Saints in  
 Jerusalem. So  
 this can still be  
 done.

1. sicut CD. 6. Et deest BCD. 9. integrat BCD. 14. servant B.  
 21. concedetur D. 26. attingendum AB. 31. est deest CD. 34. sol-  
 lempnitatem BCD. 38. quomodo BCD. 40. pro BCD.

But are the  
circumstances  
the same?  
same purity of  
life, dearth of  
food, &c.?

3<sup>rd</sup> *Obj.*: These  
Orders founded  
by Saints, have  
produced  
saints: to attack  
them were  
wrong.

Antecedent  
granted;  
conclusion  
denied.

Saints can sin.

And the very  
fall of Lucifer  
has had good  
results.

These Saints  
may have erred  
through  
misguided zeal.

Peter sinned,  
even after the  
coming of the  
Holy Ghost.

So also of the  
founders of  
Orders; they  
burdened the  
faithful with  
observances,

and filled the  
Church with  
dissensions,  
loading  
themselves and  
others uselessly.  
Who is now as  
poor, as  
humble, as holy  
as his Founder  
was?

tas. Primo, quod communitas vivat pure sine tradi-  
cionibus onerosis adiectis, ut vixerunt sancti illi Jerusalem.  
Secundo, quod prevalente caristia sterilitatis, ut tunc,  
nostri religiosi sint adeo hostibus circumsepti, quod non  
superest religiosiis temporale relevamen subsidii aliunde. 5

Tercio, obicitur per hoc quod multi pii patroni  
fundarunt hos ordines et multos sanctos successores  
reliquerant, qui omnes secundum istum sanctum ordinem  
militarunt; hereticum igitur foret ipsos super errore  
impetere vel confirmacionem pape super istos ordines 10

impugnare. Hic conceditur assumptum; nec obviat quin  
illi patroni peccarunt, saltem venialiter, introducendo  
huiusmodi novitates; sicut probabiliter creditur de beato  
Silvestro auctorisante dotacionem ecclesie. Et sic con-  
ceditur eciam secunda propositio; ymmo quod adin- 15

venciones iste faciunt multa bona ecclesie; cum ruina  
primi angeli cum suis | membris longe magis prodest B 124<sup>b</sup>

ecclesie. Et sic foret valde catholicum probabiliter  
opinari, quod dicti sancti ex ce | ca devocione pecca- A 119<sup>b</sup>

verunt. Qui licet modo purgentur, tamen vestigium 20  
erroris relictum debet diligenter caveri; ut patet de  
vestigiiis aliarum culparum sanctorum. Nam Petrus  
peccavit post missionem spiritus sancti ex observancia  
novitatis private: ut patet Gall. II<sup>o</sup>. Non tamen est Gal. II, 11

comendandus propterea, vel sequendus. Multo magis 25  
patroni plus peccantes, introducendo sectas et ritus ad  
onus ecclesie. Illi ergo patroni sunt imitandi, de quanto  
sequentur religionem Christi, servando eius consilia et

mandata. Sed de quanto in adinvencionibus humanis  
exorbitant, sunt detestandi a fidelibus, eciam a se ipsis. 30

Sic autem supponitur sanctos illorum ordinum militasse;  
et melius ac expedicius cucurrissent, in casu quo ex-  
onerati fuissent ab istis ritibus; sed onus ac obser-  
vancia istorum invaluit et Christi religio decrescebat.

Aliter enim non forent tot divisiones in sectis Augustini, 35  
Benedicti, Francisci et aliis, que omnes obligant se multi-  
plicius, striccius et onerosius quam sancti illi requi-  
sierant, et religionem sonantem in conversacionem Christi  
per dispensaciones subdolas derelinquunt. Quis, inquam,  
est hodie, qui tam stricte vivit in vescibilibus ut primitus, 40

1. uniat ACD. 2. illi deest D. 5. religiosius omnes MSS. 6. per  
hoc deest CD. 7. fundaverunt BCD. 9. ipsas A. 11. quod BCD.  
12. saltim AB. 13. conceditur AB. 15. secunda deest A; propositum A.  
19, 20. peccaverant CD. 20. non B. 23. observancia AB. 24. 4<sup>to</sup> BCD.  
29. in advencionibus ABD. 31. istorum CD. 37, 38. requirerant A.



- tam humiliter contentatur in tegumentis indumentorum  
 A 119<sup>c</sup> corporis et | domorum? et omnino qui tam excellenter  
 sanctificando se super alios edificat ecclesiam ut sui  
 B 124<sup>c</sup> patroni | primevi fecerant? quin ymo commixti inter  
 5 gentes didicerunt opera eorum, eciam amplius seculariter  
 plus voluptuose et plus impie conversando.
- Illud igitur nec papa nec Christus potuit confirmare;  
 sed omnes fideles debent iuvare modo suo dissolvere.  
 Quod foret potissime, si totus Christianismus foret unus  
 10 populus habens sine talibus onerosis adinventionibus  
 cor unum et animam unam, pure, libere et leviter  
 observando secundum gradum quem deus donaverit  
 religionem Christianam. Nam quod amplius est obligans  
 sectas regulariter sapit blasphemiam, quia observancia  
 15 que in uno proficeret in alio secundum variacionem  
 persone, loci, temporis magis officeret.
- H. Quamvis autem Christus dedit religionem suam sec-  
 undum limites ineffabilis libertatis, tamen propter  
 divisiones et mendacia multi ab ea exorbitant; quanto  
 20 magis in religionibus privatis, que non ad tantam  
 sanctitatem, sapienciam et dei auxilium devenerunt.  
 Cum igitur debent reparari ordines, debent ad illum  
 gradum quem Christus instituit reparari; quod foret  
 25 se et alium in quantum Christianus, et odiret quem-  
 cunque in quantum servat ritum privatum humanitus  
 A 119<sup>d</sup> adinventum. Si autem spiritus | movet quemquam ad  
 servandum supereminenter legem Christi, non ordinabitur  
 propterea lex sive religio obligans generaliter novam  
 30 sectam. Nam sic quilibet apostolus reliquisset propriam  
 sectam. Omnes tamen preter Scarioth de secta Christi  
 contentati fuerant, ut patet prima Cor. I et III. Apo-  
 B 124<sup>d</sup> stata | igitur divisionem in religione Christiana faciens,  
 "omni tempore iurgia seminat", multiplicando mendacia.  
 35 In cuius signum post sectarum istarum multiplicacionem  
 introductam, multiplicatae sunt divisiones et iurgia in  
 sancta ecclesia.
- Sed, ut quidam prenoscit, violencia istarum sectarum  
 et per consequens occasio licium infra tempus modicum  
 40 subtrahetur. Cuius evidenciam est, quod sicut affectus  
 consequitur intellectum, sic mendacium seminatum de

Nay, they are  
worse than  
Gentiles.

All should  
labour to end  
this state of  
things:  
which could be  
done if Christ's  
religion were  
observed.

What avails one  
person, time  
and place is  
hurtful to  
others.

Even Christ's  
perfect religion  
is not enough  
followed; how  
much less the  
imperfect  
inventions of  
men!

It does not  
follow, because  
God moves a  
man to certain  
practices, that  
he must found  
a sect: why did  
not each Apostle  
do so?  
As it is, the  
Church is  
divided by  
them.

It has been  
foretold that  
the violence of  
these sects will  
shortly pass  
away.

5. plus BCD.

16. et temporis CD.

18. tamen *deest* AB.

21. devenerant A.

22. reparari debent C.

25. sic BCD; *ib.* adiret BC.

29. proprie D.

33. Christi BCD.

Their theory of the Eucharist was the beginning of heresy. They used to say it was something: either quality or quantity.

Now they affirm that it is nothing: so they can say no worse against this Sacrament.

And having come to the extreme point of blasphemy, a reaction must ensue.

We must note how the words of the Church oppose their inventions.

Their recriminations on this subject proceed from shame; for they feel that their doctrine dishonours the Eucharist.

speculativa eucaristia precedit prenoscite mendacia divisionis ecclesie. Nunc autem creditur mendacium de dicta hostia esse summum. Olym enim dicebatur in introduccione sectarum, quod ipsa hostia sit aliquid, quia accidens sine subiecto quod est abiectissimum in 5 natura, quia infinitum inperfectius quam quantumcunque abiecta materialis substancia. Et hii erant bipartiti, ut una secta dicit quod ipsum sacramentum sit quantitas et alia secta quod sit accidens perfectius: scilicet, materialis qualitas. Et sicut utraque posuit suum accidens 10 I. esse sine subiecto, ita sententia sua caruit fun | da- A 120<sup>a</sup> mento. Nunc autem, diebus nostris, surrepsit bifurcata via blasfemorum; quarum utraque dicit, quod venerabile sacramentum altaris nichil est. Prima autem dicit, quod est aggregacio accidentium diversorum in genere, ut 15 quantitatis et qualitatis sine substancia subiecta; secunda dicit, quod est qualitates sine subiecto, que quidem fuerunt in pane vel vino. Nec superest quid dicant ulterius in dedecus sacramenti, quam quod sit res abiectissima in natura ac quod sit incomposite pure 20 nichil. Cum igitur oportet mendaces cadere, cum fuerint in summo gradu blasfemie, necesse videtur ipsos in tercio signo | deficere. B 125<sup>a</sup>

Sed ecclesia fidelium attenderet quomodo ante istos ecclesia orat in canone misse, "ut hec oblatio panis 25 et vini nobis corpus et sanguis fiat domini nostri Jesu Christi". Illam autem oblacionem vocat terrenam substanciam, ut patet in secreta secunde misse natalis domini. Iste autem secte in toto adversantur tam fideli usui sancte matris ecclesie, cum dicunt, quod illa 30 oblatio non potest esse corpus et sanguis Jesu nostri. Sed illam oportet omnino destrui, et unum inperfectius quam corpus abiectissimum a fidelibus sacramentaliter adorari. Et quia verecundantur de revelacione huius fallacie, pervertuntur ad solita comenta mendacii, 35 imponentes nobis illam dehonorationem sacramenti huius venerabilis, quod sit inperfectius in natura quam abiectissimum corpus mundi. Sic enim ipsi prius frontose defenderant asse | rendo ut fidem, quod ipsum A 120<sup>b</sup> sacramentum sit accidens quod prius informavit panem, 40 quam sententiam mendaciter imponunt Romane ecclesie.

1. eucaristie ABC; *ib.* prenoscite C. 3. est BCD. 10. unum BCD. 16. subiecta *deest* D. 18. aut BCD. 24. istas BCD. 26. vel *pro* nobis B. 28. secreto B. 30. sanctis BCD. 31. Christi *pro* nostri B. 32. vinum D.



- K. Nos autem usque ad mortem invehere volumus contra istam perfidiam et contrarium ex fide defendere; scilicet, quod panis et vinum quod ipsi fingunt accidens sit naturaliter ante consecracionem panis et vinum, sed post consecracionem corpus dignissimum, quia vere et realiter corpus Christi. Consideracio autem de priori natura sopita est, sicut consideracio nature ymaginis, suspensa tota attentione fidelium in signato. Et sicut exemplificat doctor, natura carbonis suspenditur, dum ignitur.
- 10 Si, inquam, plene instruerentur fideles quod non communicent cum istis sectis nec participant eis temporale subsidium, antequam sub signo patente sui capitanei docuerint quid naturaliter sit illa hostia post consecracionem, quam fideles | vere credunt esse quodammodo corpus Christi, et corporaliter sentiunt ac sciunt fuisse in hostia ante consecracionem; O quam gloriosa foret exclusio falsitatis perfide et enuciatio veritatis! Sed per cautelas dyaboli fides postponitur et mundo antichristiane attenditur. Occupacio tamen foret prelatorum ecclesie dilucidare populo fidei veritatem. Sed ad reges et potentatus pertinet illud a clero suo exigere. Modo autem ex cautela dyaboli, concedunt sectis licenciam incarcerationi proditorie | suos legios, ut puta iuvenes pro fide ecclesie et bono rei publice decertantes. Hoc autem nedum est infidelitas, sed regalie regum destructio. Nec mirum de ista cecitate ecclesie, quia secte quedam, inconsultis regibus, dant pape omnium suorum dominium quod sufficiunt de regnis perquirere; quod non est aliud quam legem dei subvertere et ad questum antichristianum disponere. Nam illi, ut fingunt, non possunt propter perfeccionem ewangelicam tale dominium possidere: quomodo ergo possent in alios derivare? Iterum, cum rex habeat omnium temporalium regni sui capitale dominium, quomodo licet eis tot bona regni alienare ad externos, etiam inimicos? Iterum, cum ex confessione sua papa debet esse maxime ewangelicus, perfectissime sequens Christum, quomodo licet eis temptando onerare caput suum cum stercore temporalium, quod propter turbacionem morum a se ipsis excuciant? Talia, inquam, inconueniencia vident quidam sequi ex sectis privatis
- We shall maintain unto death that the Sacrament is Christ's true and real body.
- The nature of bread indeed remains, but is forgotten: ignited charcoal is fire.
- They should be forced to declare what the Host is, or receive no temporal aid.
- Exhortation to the secular powers to interfere.
- The King is wrong to let the Sects imprison youths who struggle for the Faith and the good of the State.
- This destroys kingly power. Many sects besides give the Pope lordship over all they have.
- The Pope should follow Christ perfectly, why tempt him with temporalities? Some members of these sects, feeling their false position,

3. figurant B. 9. suppenditur A. 10. sic pro si D. 24. in iuvenes D. 28. omnium bonorum BCD. 30. antichristum CD. 31. pro non BCD; ib. propter deest B. 33. in alios deest A.

cum infinitis tradicionibus execucionem legis Christi tardantibus. Et ne dent scandalum prudenter dissimulant. Quidam autem in secta succumbunt vecorditer. | Unde B 125<sup>e</sup> dupliciter exeunt quidam sectas huiusmodi, scilicet licite et illicite; licite, videndo quia aliter quam in 5 clauistro vel privatis conventiculis plus prodesse ecclesie; et illicite multis modis: | ut procurando exempcionem, A 120<sup>a</sup> episcopatum vel licenciam standi extra vel in cura seculari; ut plus laute, plus effrene et plus ociose volupentur et magis in causa dyaboli contra dominum 10 ocientur. Et tales sunt qui extra sectam, propter episcopatum vel secte firmamentum cum dominabus vel dominis vel quomodocunque in seculo evagantur. Et tales indubie sunt apostate inter homines a dyabolo agitati, cuiusmodi sunt episcopi propter copiam tempo- 15 raliū. Illi quidem seducunt ecclesiam et potentes, ut constet sua privata religio. Illi quidem cupide colligunt temporalia ad hunc finem. Et breviter omnes qui impediunt ne servetur Christiana religio in sua pristina libertate. Et sic pauci sunt quin sunt apostate plus vel 20 minus, quia alienati a religione Christi, quam impediunt; cum tota sollicitudo viantium dispersa in sectas privatas, si foret debite collecta ad trahendum Petri naviculam in fluctibus huius seculi pure secundum religionem Christi, militaret tucius contra procillas quam modo 25 militat. Ideo ve illis apostatis qui impediunt illud navigium!

Similiter, posito quod adinventiones humane et fecte M. obediencie iuvant secundum religionem Christi ad meritum: adhuc oportet concedere quod non tantum quan- 30 tum pura religio Christi; quia aliter blasphemaretur in ipsum et scandalisa | rentur apostoli, qui hoc instituere | A 121<sup>a</sup> ex negligencia vel ignorancia omiserunt. Cum igitur non B 125<sup>a</sup> valet privata obediencia nisi de quanto fit Christo, sibi autem posset fieri eque meritorie vel meritorius sub- 35 ductis religionibus privatis, ut patet de apostolis, manifestum videtur quod tales religiones non iuvant ad meritum, sed retardant. Similiter, de quanto religio est deo propinquior et a confirmacione humana independencior, est ipsa perfectior; sed pura religio Christiana 40 est huiusmodi respectu cuiuslibet religionis private

leave it lawfully and unlawfully; lawfully, to serve the Church better; unlawfully, by obtaining dispenses to live at ease.

These are truly apostates.

They do much harm.

If the care given to the Sects were bestowed on Peter's bark, she would hold a better course.

Even if human inventions help towards sanctity, we must admit that they do so less than Christ's ordinances.

The nearer to God, and the less dependent on man any religion is, the better it is: this is eminently true of the pure religion of Christ.

7. exceptionem A. 9. ocie A. 13. quocumque ACD. 33. omiserant A. 35, 36. subditis CD.



adiecte humanitus: igitur est qualibet tali perfectior. Non enim dependet a confirmatione pape vel hominis citra Christum; nec fundari potest vel dari ab alio, quia non consistit in signis extrinsecis; sed in bonis  
 5 anime, "que sursum descendunt a patre luminum". Et si dicatur quod religio ista est agregatum superaddens religioni Christi bonum ab homine ordinatum et de tanto est melius, certum videtur quod totum quod est vera religio, oportet appropriate a Christo descendere.  
 10 Et ritus superadditus ex obligatione maiori et inordinata preponderante destruit religionem Christi, et instituit novum genus religionis dyaboli.

If they answer that to Christ's law is added man's good ordinance, we see that the latter destroys the former.

Sic enim est de scriptura sacra per Sergium et de sententia eukaristie per cultores signorum. Olim enim  
 15 fuit fides ecclesie quod virtute verborum Christi panis sensibilis fit et est corpus Christi; modo autem sophisticantur scriptura et dicta sanctorum, quod ille panis | nullomodo potest esse corpus Christi, sed in accidenti-  
 N. bus abiectissimis est corpus Christi absconditum. Unde  
 20 improbant fideles qui adorant hoc sacramentum; quia, B 126<sup>a</sup> secundum eos, omnis abiecti | corporis particula est ipso sacramento dignior, et natura divina perfectior corpore Christi est realius, substancialius et virtuosius ad quemlibet eius punctum. Sed non sic sensit ecclesia  
 25 primitiva; nam ipsum corpus panis credebatur fieri sacramentaliter corpus Christi; et cum superaddit per illud miraculum super esse deitatis, ibidem adorant fideles illum panem sanctum quem vident de quanto est corpus Christi, et sic adorant finaliter ipsum deum.  
 30 Sic enim sensit beatus Ignacius, ut dictum est superius, et sic sensit beatus Cyprianus, ut patet in libro suo ad Cecilium de sacramento corporis et sanguinis domini, ubi declarans quod non licet in pura aqua conficere, sic scribit: "Calicem," inquit, "in die passionis accipiens  
 35 benedixit et dedit discipulis suis, dicens: 'Bibite ex hoc omnes; hic est enim sanguis testamenti, qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Dico vobis: non bibam amodo ex ista creatura vitis usque in diem illum, quo vobiscum bibam novum in regno

Example in the new doctrine of the Eucharist.

How can anything so mean as an accident be adored?

Such was not the doctrine of the early Church.

The faithful used to adore God in this Sacrament.

Ignatius and Cyprian were of this mind. Quotation from the latter.

5. descendant A. 11. preponderantius BCD; *ib.* inficit CD. 12. religionis *deest* BCD. 13. sicut BCD. 14. signum BCD. 15. sicut *pro* fuit BCD. 36. enim *deest* BCD; *ib.* novi testamenti B. 37. in *deest* D.

Words of  
St. John  
Damascenus.

Anecdote by  
the Abbot  
Daniel in the  
*Lives of the  
Desert Fathers*.  
An old Father,  
holy in life,  
believed that  
the sacramental  
bread was only  
the figure of  
Christ's body.

He was told to  
believe that the  
bread was  
really Christ's  
body.

But, he not  
being satisfied  
with their  
reasons,

they said: 'Let  
us pray this  
week'.

He consented  
and prayed.

So did the  
others.

patris mei." "Qua in parte," inquit sanctus, "invenimus calicem mixtum fuisse quem obtulit, et vinum fuisse quod sangwinem suum dixit." Et Johannes Damascenus Grecus scribit | in sententiis suis quod deus A 121<sup>a</sup> "coniugavit pani et vino deitatem suam et fecit ipsam 5 corpus et sangwinem". Et idem dicunt sancti con-O. corditer.

Unde, in Vitis Patrum narratur capitulo 18, quomodo narravit abbas Daniel dicens: "dixit pater noster abbas Arsenius de quodam sene, qui magnus erat in 10 hac vita, simplex autem in fide; et errabat pro eo quod erat ydiota et dicebat naturaliter non esse corpus Christi | panem quem sumimus, sed figuram eius B 126<sup>b</sup> esse. Hoc autem audientes duo senes et scientes quod magna esset vita eius, cogitaverunt quia innocenter 15 et simpliciter dixit hoc. Et venerunt ad eum, et dicunt ei: 'Abba, sermonem audivimus cuiusdam infidelis, qui dixit quia panis quem sumimus non naturaliter corpus Christi, sed figura est.' Senex ait eis: 'Ego sum qui hoc dixi.' Illi autem rogabant eum dicentes: 20 'non sic teneas, abba, sed sicut ecclesia catholica tradidit. Nos autem credimus, quia panis corpus Christi est, calix ipse sangwis Christi secundum veritatem et non secundum figuram. Sed sicut in principio pulverem de terra accipiens plasmavit hominem ad ymaginem 25 suam, et nemo potest dicere quod non erat ymago dei, quamvis incomprehensibilis. Ita et panis quem dixit quia *corpus meum est* credimus quia secundum veritatem corpus Christi est.' Senex autem ait eis, quia 'nisi re ipsa cognovero |, non michi satisfacit ratio A 121<sup>d</sup> vestra'. Illi autem dixerunt ad eum: 'deprecemur deum ebdomada hac de misterio hoc, et credimus quia deus revelabit nobis'. Senex vero cum gaudio suscepit sermonem istum, et deprecabatur deum dicens: 'Domine, tu cognoscis, quoniam non propter maliciam incredulus 35 sum rei huius, sed per ignoranciam dubito. Revela igitur michi, domine Jesu Christe, quod verum est.' Sed et illi senes abeuntes in cellas suas rogabant di-P. centes: 'Domine Jesu Christe, revela seni misterium hoc, ut credat et non perdat laborem suum.' Exaudivit 40

4. quia B. 6. corpus suum CD. 19. dixit B. 22. panis ipse BCD.  
23. Christi est CD. 29. dixit CD. 32. ministerio B. 40. nonque B.

6. De Vitis Patrum I. v. libello 18. Migne, t. 73, p. 978, 979.



dominus utrosque, et ebdomada completa venerunt do-  
 B 126<sup>o</sup> minico die | in ecclesiam et sederunt ipsi tres soli  
 super sedili de cirpo, quod ad modum fascis erat  
 ligatum. Medius autem sedebat senex ille. Aperti sunt  
 5 intellectuales oculi eorum, et quando positi sunt in  
 altari panes, videtur illis tantummodo tribus, tanquam  
 parvulus iacens super altare. Et cum extendisset pres-  
 biter manus ut frangeret panem, descendit angelus do-  
 mini de celo habens cultrum in manu, et sacrificavit  
 10 puerum illum: sangwinem vero eius excuciebat in  
 calicem. Cum autem presbiter frangeret in partibus  
 parvis panem, eciam et angelus incidebat pueri mem-  
 bra in modicis partibus. Cum vero accessisset ut ac-  
 ciperet sanctam communionem, data est ipsi soli caro  
 A 122<sup>a</sup> sangwine cruentata | quod cum vidisset pertimuit et  
 clamavit dicens. 'Credo quia panis qui in altari po-  
 nitur corpus tuum est; et calix tuus est sangwis.' Et  
 statim facta est in manu eius panis secundum misterium,  
 et sumpsit cum ore, gracias agens deo. Dixerunt ei  
 20 senes: 'Deus scit naturam humanam, quia non potest  
 vesci carnibus crudis; et propter ea transformavit cor-  
 pus in panem et sangwinem in vinum hiis qui illud  
 in fide suscipiunt.'

Ex ista narratione, vera supposita, patent tria: primo  
 25 quomodo in illa etate ecclesie vocarunt panem regula-  
 riter corpus Christi; nondum enim introducti sunt  
 cultores accidencium, qui finxerant accidens sacramen-  
 tum. Patet secundo quod non est intencionis miraculi  
 dicere quod panis sacramentalis fit ydemptice corpus  
 30 Christi, sed sufficit quod supra rationem figure panis  
 B 126<sup>d</sup> ille sit realiter corpus | Christi. Et patet tercio pro  
 isto termino 'naturaliter' quod doctores primitive ecclesie,  
 et specialiter Hylarius libro 7<sup>o</sup> De trinitate capitulo 6<sup>o</sup>,  
 dicunt corpus Christi esse naturaliter, corporaliter et  
 35 carnaliter ipsum panem, ad excludendum figuram pre-  
 cisam qualis fuit in lege veteri, et qualis est in signis  
 nostris humanitus institutis: quia aliter Christus dixisset  
 superflue: "hoc est corpus meum", nisi signum illud  
 panis haberet quandam efficaciam super illa. Sed ut  
 A 122<sup>b</sup> dictum est, adverbia debent intelligi simpliciter. |

Their eyes were  
 opened.  
 And they saw  
 on the altar a  
 little child  
 sacrificed by an  
 Angel.

And the old  
 man, instead of  
 the Host,  
 received  
 bleeding flesh;  
 and he believed,  
 and the flesh  
 was again  
 bread.

Conclusions:  
 a) that Christ's  
 body was then  
 regularly called  
 bread;

b) that the  
 miracle does  
 not produce  
 identity;

c) that the  
 early Doctors  
 call Christ's  
 Body *natural*  
 bread.

3. medium CD. 7. extenderet B. 8, 9. Domini *deest* B.  
 15. sangwine *deest* B. 17. est *deest* A; *ib.* est illa BCD. 18. ministe-  
 rium B.

3. *Scirpo*, in the text quoted.

Return to the question: the variation of rites in the Mass.

The author of De Divinis officiis says: Of old Mass was celebrated less splendidly.

As David and Salomon perfected the sacrifices of Moses, so has the Roman Church done in later times.

Pope Celestinus ordered that the whole Psalter should be sung before Mass, by anthems.

Pope Gregory arranged the anthems, composed the *Kyrie eleison*, added some words to the Canon,

Redeundo ergo ad variacionem rituum in missa, cum Q. illa variacio possit bene fieri, videndum est de eius origine, quam declarat auctor De divinis officiis, sub hiis verbis: "Olym non tanto exterioris apparatu decoris missarum solemnita celebrabantur, nec ab uno quolibet homine religiosi obsequii gloria consummata et perpolitata. Pontifices quippe sacri, splendida Romane sedis luminaria, sicut diversis temporibus effulserunt, ita paulatim studii sui claritate venustatem huius salutaris officii perfecerunt. Et sicut traditum a domino per Moysen sacrificii veteris ordinem, precipue David et Salomon, sacerdotum et Levitarum ministerio, tantorum multiplici numero psalmorum divinorum, tripudio, templi vel altaris illustri gloria, sacrorumque multitudine vasorum splendidius ampliarunt; sic traditum a domino mirabilem novi sacrificii ritum per primos apostolos sancta Romana ecclesia suscipiens religiosa fide amplexata est, fideli cura conservavit, diligenti apparatu exornavit. Que ergo quique eorum con | tulerunt, iam B dicemus magis secundum ordinem eorum que ordinata sunt, quam eorum qui ordinauerunt. Celestinus papa 42<sup>us</sup> constituerat ut psalmi David centum | ante A sacrificium canerentur anthiphonatim ex omnibus; quod ante non fiebat, sed tantum epistola et ewangelium recitabantur. Ex hoc instituto excepti de psalmis in- troitus, gradualia, offertoria, communione cum modulatione ad missam in ecclesia Romana cantari ceperunt. Gregorius antiphonarium regulariter centonisavit et compilavit, *Kyrieieison* a clero ad missam cantari precepit, quod aput Grecos ab omni populo cantabatur; *alleluya* extra penthecosten ad missam dici fecit, in canone tria verba superaddidit hostie: 'diesque nostros

10. intraditum ad nomen domini D. 18. fidei D; *ib.* con- *deest* BCD. 20. sed *pro* secundum C. 26. comunem CD. 28. regulariter *deest* A; *ib.* teutonisavit *omnes* MSS.

21. According to the Benedictine chronological list, St. Celestinus (422) was the 44<sup>th</sup> Pope, counting St. Peter. In De Divinis Officiis, ascribed to Alcuin, there is the following passage: "Celestinus papa . . . constituit ut psalmi CI. ante sacrificium psallerentur antiphonatim ex omnibus; quod antea non fiebat, nisi tantum epistola Pauli recitabatur, et sanctum Evangelium" . . . Here we have, as also in some other similar passages, evident proof that Wyclif quotes from this work, though very considerably interpolated, as we have seen from other extracts that are nowhere to be found. 28. St. Gregory the Great (590) was the 65<sup>th</sup> Pope.



- in tua pace disponas,' 'ab eterna dampnatione nos eripi',  
et 'in electorum tuorum iubeas grege numerari.' Oracio-  
nem quoque dominicam post canonem super hostia  
censuit recitari. Simacus 53<sup>us</sup> omni die dominico vel  
5 natali martirum Gloria in excelsis ad missam cantari  
constituit; quem ymnum Celestinus Telesphorus papa  
a beato Petro nonus nocte tantum natalis domini ad-  
missas a se in ipsa constitutas cantari instituit, et in  
eo ad angelorum verba que sequuntur adiecit. Gelasius  
10 47<sup>us</sup> tractus et ymnos composuit, et sacramentorum  
prefaciones tanto zelinato sermone dictavit. Innocencius  
A 122<sup>d</sup> 38<sup>us</sup> pacis | osculum ante communionem dari decrevit;  
Leo 43<sup>us</sup>, qui in omeliis declamandis multum invaluit,  
addidit in canone 'sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam  
15 hostiam.' Damasus 36<sup>us</sup>, 'Credo in unum deum' cantari  
B 127<sup>b</sup> instituit ex decreto sancte universalis | Synodi a centum  
50 episcopis Constantinopoli celebrate. Allexander 6<sup>us</sup> ad  
consecrationem eukaristie instituit, quod sicut de latere  
crucifixi domini effluxit sanguis et aqua, ita aqua vino  
20 misceatur in ipsa consecratione; nec vinum sine aqua,  
S. nec aquam sine vino offerri debere decernens. Sixtus  
7<sup>us</sup> ymnum Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, cantari instituit;  
Sergius 80<sup>us</sup> ultimum hoc instituit, ut inter communi-  
candum 'agnus dei' a clero cantetur.  
25 Sic studiosa divine legis ecclesia Romana paulatim  
de thesauro suo protulit nova pietatis monimenta, et  
quoddam velud ex auro lapidibusque preciosis religiosi  
officii sancto sacrificio fabrefecit ydioma. Non quidem  
sanccius hinc est quod erat prius, cum ad sola verba  
30 domini solamque dominicam orationem consecrabatur.  
Sed maxime docuit, ut fides que adhuc erat illo tem-  
pore rudis et, ut ait quidam, tam doctus quam fidelis:  
... 'Agresti turbida culti  
Nuda humeros, intonsa comas, exorta lacertos'  
A 123<sup>a</sup> ubi ornari | potuit maxime in hac parte, tanquam in  
capite suo deauraretur, et earum rerum que superius  
dicte sunt veneranda similitudine fulgeret."

9. sequentur ABD. 11. zelimato CD. 15. Damasius D. 17. cele-  
brante B. 20. ipsa *deest* D. 21. aqua B. 31. in illo BCD.  
34. comis BCD; *ib.* sacerdos BCD. 36. deauretur BCD.

4. Symmachus (498): 52<sup>nd</sup> Pope. 6. St. Telesphorus (127):  
8<sup>th</sup> Pope. 9. St. Gelasius (492): 50<sup>th</sup> Pope. 11. St. Inno-  
cent I (402): 41<sup>st</sup> Pope. 13. St. Leo the Great (440): 46<sup>th</sup> Pope.  
15. St. Damasus (366): 38<sup>th</sup> Pope. 17. St. Alexander (100):  
6<sup>th</sup> Pope. 21. St. Sixtus I (119): 7<sup>th</sup>. 23. Sergius I (687): 85<sup>th</sup>.

and put in the  
Lord's Prayer.

Pope  
Symmachus  
ordained that  
the *Gloria*  
should be sung  
out of  
Christmas-tide.

Pope Gelasius  
composed the  
Tracts, hymns  
and Prefaces;  
Innocent, Leo,  
Damasus,  
Alexander,  
Sixtus and  
Sergius also  
made some  
changes.

Thus the  
Roman Church  
has little by  
little, adorned  
the Ritual of  
the Mass with  
rites; faith, no  
less sacred than  
before, is more  
splendid now.

These ceremonies certainly aid piety, though not so safe as the first ones, instituted by Christ.

The same may be said of other rites,

good only in so far as they incite to Christ's love. Still, it would be better if we could do without them.

We are far from the fervour of early times.

Solomon was perhaps wrong in giving such splendour to public worship; and we are under a new dispensation.

This argument would allow concubines, and burnt-offerings, &c.

The lies of these last times have given too great prominence to these ceremonies. Everything depends, not on the act, but on the spirit in which it is done.

Licet autem verisimile sit, quod modus quem observarunt Christus et sui apostoli fuit securior et plus prodesset ecclesie, tamen iste modus superadditus multis prodest. Et sic de multis sanctorum canonisationibus, de multis festorum celebracionibus et aliis perpetuis 5 institucionibus; certum quidem est quod omnia talia precise de tanto sunt laudabilia, de quanto excitant ut Christus plus ametur. Sic quod, si Christus | plus B 127<sup>e</sup> amaretur ab ecclesia, non existente solemnitate festivitatis alicuius apostoli vel sancti citra Christum, nec 10 ordinacione adiecta de cultu ecclesie, plus prodesset ecclesie quam modo proficit. Cuius veritas ex isto convincitur quod ante omnia hec plus profuerunt ecclesie actus apostolici; et multiplicatis successive hiis ritibus continue plus fuerant peiorati. Ideo videtur quod nec 15 propter questum, nec fastum, sed pure propter honorem dei, excitante revelacione, sunt talia acceptanda.

Nec movet de David et Salomone, tum quia non T. docetur quin ipsi in hoc peccaverunt, tum etiam quia multi ritus fuerunt in eis liciti, qui propter adventum 20 figurati et attentionem ad sensum mysticum sunt hodie omittendi, creditur templum Salomonis et eius ornamenta fuisse destructa. Nec oportet prelatos nostros propter eorum consequenciam habere totidem concubinas vel premi purgacionibus | et oblacionibus bestiarum cum A 123<sup>b</sup> ceteris ritibus. Sicut igitur ipsi et gesta sua signarunt Christum venturum, qui iam venit et alleviavit onus illud importabile, sic debemus servando eius libertatem secundum sapienciam suam veteres ritus excutere: et sic melius foret ritus huius sacramenti et alios in- 30 troductos dimittere, nisi ad amorem Christi promoverent, et per consequens ad observanciam legis sue.

Sed multiplicata mendacia circa sacramentum altaris maioritas observancie ritus novelli supra virtutes; et sic distraccio a magis bono videntur multis concludere 35 quod melius foret multiplicatam istam dimittere. Melius, Amos inquam, foret vellere siccomoros in maiori caritate quam VII, 14 audire | quotquot missas cum oracionibus numerosis B 127<sup>d</sup> profusis, quia magis virtuosum. Sic enim baptista, qui nunquam audivit missam, manducavit meritorius corpus 40 Christi. Sic enim loquitur Christus de bibicione vini,

10. nec *pro* vel D. 17. attemptanda C. 19. peccaverant A; *ib.* et *pro* cciam B. 26. figurant BCD. 28. illud eis C. 36. fore A; *ib.* multiplicacionem BCD. 41. scilicet quam tales *in marg.* A.



hoc est, sanguinis sui Math. XXVI et Luc. XXII quem biberet novo modo post mortem; sicut loquitur Augustinus super Johanne, omelia 25<sup>a</sup>. Manducacio autem sacramentalis non proficit, nisi de quanto subservit man-  
 A 123<sup>e</sup> ducacioni spirituali, que fit in anima. | Illa vero per se sufficit, cum implicat virtutem et meritum ex memoria passionis et viacionis Christi a corpore suo mistico, quod est ecclesia imitandum.

This is Augustine's doctrine.

V. Sunt autem tres famosi obiectus ut sepe repecii; primo  
 10 videtur quod si corpus Christi sit hostia consecrata et quelibet eius particula, cum infinita sunt huiusmodi, corpus Christi foret infinita contrarie accidentata; vel ex alio latere quodlibet illorum foret idem in numero cuilibet eorum. Ad istud sepe dictum est quod foret  
 15 insolubile, nisi quia corpus Christi est *equivoce* et non *ydemptice* aliquod illorum. Et illud docet Augustinus, ut recitat decretum de consecracione, distincione 2<sup>a</sup> capitulo. "*Non hoc corpus*," inquit: "quod videtis manducaturi estis, et bibituri estis illum sangwinem quem  
 20 effusuri sunt illi, qui me crucifigent; ipsum quidem et non ipsum; ipsum invisibiliter et non ipsum visibiliter," "*necesse est*," inquit, "*illud celebrari visibiliter; sed necesse est ut illud invisibiliter intelligatur*". Ubi patet quod Augustinus equivocat modo scripture. Et  
 25 cum utraque pars sit concedenda cum Augustino, quia propter equivocacionem non est contradiccio, manifestum est quod ipse vere intelligit quod corpus Christi non  
 A 123<sup>a</sup> B 128<sup>a</sup> est comedendum secundum illum modum | substancialem, | corporalem, vel dimensionalem, quem habet in quantum  
 30 illud corpus. Et propter illum modum essendi equivocum, patet quod deficit discursus sylogisticus in ista materia. Non, inquam, oportet, si panis ille frangitur, comeditur vel putrescit, et ille sit corpus Christi, quod ipsum corpus propterea sic movetur, quia est *equivoce* corpus  
 35 Christi; et sic movetur taliter in hostia, sed non sic movetur, quia non sic movetur in sua substancia; multiplicatur tamen, cum sit multorum singulum.

Three great objections to the Eucharist.

I. That 'Christ's body, being everywhere the Host, each Host would be every other; it is soluble by our distinction alone.

Augustine says that the Body we eat is and is not the same as that which was crucified; the same invisibly, not visibly.

Here syllogisms fail, because of the difference in the very modes of being.

Secundo argumentatur quod corpus Christi sit quelibet eius pars quantitativa, ut puta caput, pedes, manus etc.

II. 'Christ's Body in the Sacrament is

6. virtutem *deest* A; virtutem C. 12. *accidencia* B. 15. quod BCD.  
 22, 23. *necesse* — sed *necesse deest* A. 30. per C. 34. qui BCD.  
 36. quia — in *deest* A. 38. arguitur BD.

1. Aug. Tract. XXV. In Joh. Migne, t. 35, p. 1602. 17. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars. Dist. II, c. 45.

identical with  
His head, feet,  
&c. So His head  
is there  
identical with  
his feet!

Answer: If we  
speak of  
substantial  
identity, the  
conclusion is  
wrong; if of  
Christ's mystic  
members, and  
their union in  
charity, it is  
right.

For the  
Sacrament is  
mystically  
the whole  
Church; and  
each of its  
members ought  
thus to belong  
to and be in  
another.

III. If all the  
members of  
Christ are in  
the Host, they  
are there with  
all their shapes,  
&c.

quia quolibet talis pars est illud sacramentum quod  
est corpus Christi. Cum ergo quecumque sunt eadem  
alicui tercio sunt eadem inter se, videtur quod omnes  
ille partes idem corpori Christi sunt idem inter se. Hic X.  
suppono quod fiat locutio de substanciali ydentitate 5  
numerali: et tunc patet, quod conclusio est impossibilis.  
Sed videtur secundum logicam apostoli quod est quedam  
similitudo ad sensum mysticum vel sacramentalem; ita  
quod, sicut sacramentum est corpus Christi et singule  
eius partes, sic quicumque predestinati sunt qualia- 10  
cunque membra corporis Christi mistici. Scribit enim  
apostolus 1<sup>a</sup> Cor. X: "Unum corpus et unus panis X, 17  
multi sumus | omnes, qui de uno pane et uno calice A 124<sup>a</sup>  
participamus"; hoc est, omnes predestinati qui partici-  
pant eukaristia quoad meritum vel premium, nedum 15  
sunt unum corpus natura, sed unum corpus Christi,  
quod est ecclesia, et ipsa est quodammodo unus panis.  
Ideo, ad Rom. XII. "Multi unum corpus sumus in Rom.  
Christo; singuli autem alter alterius membra." Sicut XII, 5  
enim hostia consecrata est sacramentaliter corpus Christi, 20  
et quodlibet eius membrum, sic est quodammodo sancta  
mater ecclesia et quodlibet eius membrum. Idem | dicit B 128<sup>b</sup>  
auctor De divinis officiis, quod "in sacramento altaris,  
nedum est corpus Christi et concomitancia angelorum  
sed tota ecclesia; et sicut ipsa hostia et quolibet eius 25  
particula est corpus Christi et quodlibet eius membrum,  
sic mystice quodlibet membrum ecclesie est quodammodo  
Christus Jesus, ut locuntur multi sancti; et quodlibet  
membrum ecclesie debet esse mystice qualecunque  
membrum alterius; ut prelatus nedum est stomachus, 30  
oculus et sic de aliis membris ecclesie, sed debet esse  
in consilio membrum cuilibet alteri eius membro; quia,  
ut docet apostolus, debemus esse singuli alter alterius  
membra".

Sed tercio obiciunt carnales: si corpus Christi et 35 Y.  
omnia | eius membra sunt vere in hostia, tunc quantitas, A 124<sup>b</sup>  
figura et continuacio illorum membrorum est consequenter  
in ipsa hostia. Et ad istud vellent carnales urgere me  
per sua mendacia, non per argumenta, ut concedam  
corpus Christi esse septipedale in hostia et quomodo- 40  
cunque figuratur, vel qualificatur in celo secundum

2. et est CD. 11. corpori D. 16. idem *corr.* A; *ib.* naturaliter CD.  
18. Ideo dicitur CD. 19. sic CD. 21. et *deest* AB. 22. Ideo CD.  
30. debet esse BCD. 39. nec BCD.



- aliquod accidens corporale. Sed sensus et ratio fidei  
 contradicunt. Conceditur igitur quod corpus Christi  
 est non quantum, non figuratum, non corporaliter  
 qualificatum ibi, quia est spiritualiter et non dimensiona-  
 5 liter ibi. Verumtamen corpus Christi non est non quantum  
 vel non corporee qualificatum, quia tunc non esset  
 alicubi illo modo. Corpus Christi igitur non habet in  
 hostia aliquem modum proprie substancialem illi corpori,  
 quia tunc posset esse ibi illo modo, cum hoc quod non  
 10 esset per alium locum, quod esse non potest. Conceditur  
 tamen quod accidentaliter et secundum modum sibi  
 accidentalem est in celo, cum sit ibi substancialiter. Et  
 impossibile est aliquod corpus esse alicubi substancialiter,  
 B 128<sup>n</sup> nisi fuerit ibi accidentaliter, | sed econtra. Quia quamvis  
 15 sit in hostia corpus Christi modo quo uniuntur partes  
 eius ad invicem, et modo quo anima sua actuatur corpus  
 A 124<sup>n</sup> illud, tamen ille est modus alius, quia | modus spiritualis  
 corporis; qui deficit sibi in celo. Unde modus sub-  
 stancialis est prior naturaliter quam modus unionis  
 20 anime cum corpore, vel parcium quantitativarum ad  
 invicem, cum sit modus materialis quo est illa attonia.  
 Nec latet logicos quomodo iste termini substancialiter  
 et secundum substancialiam possunt quandoque sumi  
 categorice et quandoque sincategorice et sic redu-  
 25 plicare immediate secundum causalem et condicionalem  
 et alias mediate, quod logici negant de isto termino  
*in quantum*. Corpus itaque Christi non habet in hostia  
 aliquod accidens formale, sed loco quantitatis habet  
 corpus Christi ibi magnitudinem virtutis, et loco quali-  
 30 tatis corporalis habet ibi qualitates spirituales, et loco  
 continuacionis membrorum suorum habet ibi gratiam  
 continuandi per caritatem membra ecclesie ad invicem  
 et cum Christo.
- Sic igitur instruendus est populus quod sacramentum  
 35 altaris est secundum suam naturam panis et vinum,  
 sed secundum verbi dei miraculum est corpus Christi  
 et sangwis. Et dicendum est scolasticis quod sacra-  
 mentum, secundum quod panis aut vinum, subiectat  
 naturaliter omnia illa accidentia que sentimus; sed  
 40 secundum quod corpus Christi, confert gratiam fidelibus  
 ipsa dignis. Istam autem sententiam propono publicare

*Answer: His members are there spiritually, not dimensionally.*

*Though Christ's body has dimensions, it has none qua in the Sacrament.*

*But in Heaven it has all its dimensions, being there substantially.*

*Terms that signify a substance can be taken either for what they denote or for something similar.*

*Thus instead of dimensions, Christ has greatness of virtue.*

*The People and the learned are to be taught the same thing in different terms: that the Eucharist, natural bread, is Christ's sacramental body.*

14. accidenter B. 15. sit *deest* B. 19. natura BCD. 21. attoma C.  
 27. inquam BCD. 41. dignius B.

*Conclusion*: a challenge to the sign-worshippers. This doctrine will be published, let them set forth theirs; and let God multiply the number of the faithful.

in populo. Et cultores signorum iuxtaponant suam sententiam, quod sacramentum ipsum sit agregacio accidencium sine substancia subiecta: Deus autem qui donavit hoc donum noticie, et | odit mendacia, multiplicabit secundum dignitatem capacium fidei veritatem. 5 Certum, inquam, est, quod multiplicata apostasia generationis signa querencium multiplicanda est errorum varietas in hoc venerabili sacramento.

Explicit Tractatus de Apostasia Magistri Johannis Wiclef doctoris ewangelici.

10

9. Explicit tractatus de apostasia per reverendum doctorem J. W. cuius anima per misericordiam altissimi requiescat in pace C; Explicit tractatus de apostasia per reverendum doctorem J. W. cuius anima per misericordiam altissimi D; per reverendum doctorem J. W. cuius anima per misericordiam altissimi requiescat in pace. Amen B. 10. Respice finem 1517 A *alia manu*.



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<sup>1</sup> According as *subject matter* or *words* are taken as guides, an index approaches on one hand to a mere summary, on the other, to a concordance. But there are already two summaries, one in the Introduction, and the other in the side-notes; and to write a complete concordance would be useless and impossible. I have endeavoured therefore, to restrain the scope of this Index chiefly to what is most interesting and strikes most. Quotations from the Fathers being very numerous, I have taken especial pains with them; not however always repeating the reference, if the same quotation occurs several times.

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